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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2221

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SED ELECTION DIRECTIVE SETS ECONOMIC, SOCIAL GOALS

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 38 No 17, Aug 83 (signed to press 25 Aug 83) supplement pp 2-24

[SED CC Politburo Resolution, 9 August 1983: "Directive of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for Carrying Out Party Elections 1983/84"]

[Text] The Sixth SED Central Committee plenum has resolved, on the basis of the party statute and the Central Committee election regulations, to conduct the status reports and new elections of the basic kreis and bezirk organization executives between 3 October 1983 and 19 February 1984: Between 3 October and 3 December 1983, the status reports and new elections of the party group organizers, their deputies, the department organization executives and the executives of the basic organizations and local managements; between 7 January and 21 January 1984, delegates conferences for status reports and new elections of kreis, city and city-district executives; between 11 February and 19 February 1984, delegates conferences for status reports and new election of bezirk managements.

I

The party elections are under the auspices entirely of the continued successful implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions. The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences receive their special importance from that all party organizations, on the basis of the good balance-sheet for the Karl Marx Year and oriented to the new criteria, the higher requirements and the greater possibilities, confer and decide on the decisive tasks for the continued implementation of the party policy aimed at the people's well-being, the strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace.

The basic concern of the party elections is to bring to full effect all advantages and impulses of socialism for continuing the main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy and to mobilize the communists and all citizens of our country for the political mass struggle for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and for safeguarding peace, and lead them to success. The party collectives determine their concrete contribution to it and decide how to fully exploit for it, through elevating the party's leadership role and bolstering its fighting strength, and through high-level intra-party life and uniform, initiative-rich, and mass-related actions by the communists, all intellectual and material potentials.

What matters in the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences is to come up with a comprehensive balance-sheet on the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions in one's own area of responsibility. What matters is thoroughly to assess the rich experiences in party and mass activity and organize, in accordance with concrete conditions in the party organization, a resolute struggle for the complete realization of the tasks assigned in the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, before the first kreis secretaries, as issued by the sixth Central Committee plenum.

Based on what has been accomplished, mighty impulses ought to come out of the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences toward high-level development of all sides and sectors of public life, the economic, social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the totality of working and living conditions, and national defense, all according to plan.

The decisive battleground for conscious action lies in the implementation of the party's economic strategy in line with rigorously carrying on the main task course in the unity of economic and social policy. Through fully exploiting all factors of intensively expanded reproduction and improving the productivity, effectiveness and quality of social labor, dynamic economic growth must be ensured to continue.

All party organizations consider and decide how, through a creative and mass-related working style, they can still make tighter the party's trusting relations with the working class and all working people.

The innermost core of party work continues to be the political-ideological work with the people, the duty each communist has to explain the party policy and resolutions in a manner that affects the masses and transform them, together with the working people, into revolutionary acts for strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences equip the comrades with persuasive arguments, instill high ideological combat readiness and political vigilance in them, and enable them to carry on the political debate with all citizens offensively. A priority concern is to react with sensitivity to all questions and concerns of the working people, to dodge no problem and to oppose anything that disturbs the relationship of confidence between the party and the people.

Party members and candidates are to be placed in the situation where they can always provide an optimistic political climate in their area of activity, awaken a deep understanding for the tasks to be solved, and everywhere create the kind of conditions under which all citizens' conscious and active participation can become widespread.

In the course of the party elections the party collectives discuss how to inform the working people still more comprehensively, constantly and relevantly about national and international events and the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions in their places of work and territories, and how they can bring a greater influence to bear on always judging events and manifestations of life in a class-bound manner and on drawing the correct conclusions from it for one's own conduct.

All party organizations are preparing and conducting the party elections at a time when a stronger struggle for preserving and safeguarding peace has become the most important concern of the party.

Good use should be made of the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences for closely combining the explanation of topical domestic and foreign policy tasks with the basic problems of the struggle between socialism and imperialism, with the worldwide struggle for safeguarding peace.

For each party organization there arises the task from it to derive the requisite conclusions for conducting political-ideological work and for strengthening the efficiency and defensive might of socialism, and to make an active contribution to implementing the Prague Political Declaration. The struggle for peace and security calls for a higher level of political-ideological indoctrination and leaves no margin for any illusions about the objectives of our class enemy.

In line with the joint declaration from the meeting of the highest representatives of socialist states in Moscow, the party organizations are assuming their growing responsibility for further bolstering the forces of peace in their struggle against the adventurist bellicose course of the Reagan administration and NATO, against the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles on the territory of the FRG and other European NATO countries.

With great strength of conviction the party and work collectives ought to explain imperialism's anticommunist crusade and the dangers emanating from the policy of the United States and its NATO partners that so endangers peace and is so anti-human. At the same time the certitude must be reinforced that we, in our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and all the states in the socialist community and through our joint actions within the worldwide peace movement, can call a halt to the imperialist war course.

To that end, the party organizations create the requisite political positions among all communists and working people, militant attitudes and greater efforts on behalf of the all-round strengthening of the workers and farmers power and the reliable protection of our socialist accomplishments.

The party elections offer an occasion for reinforcing the comrades and working people in their certitude that our fraternal bonds with the CPSU and the USSR and the GDR's solid footing in the socialist community will always be the basis for our country's stable and dynamic development.

Through party and mass activity it is to be made emphatically clear that with the results of the friendship visit of the party and state delegation, headed by Comrade Erich Honecker, in the Soviet Union, a new phase has been initiated in the fraternal relations between our parties, states and peoples.

The deepening of bilateral relations and the close foreign policy cooperation between the GDR and the USSR conform to the growing requirements for the further shaping of the developed socialist society, the consolidation of the community of socialist states, and the fight against the confrontation and arms buildup policy of the United States and its NATO allies.



More far-reaching opportunities for close and diversified cooperation between combines, research institutions, scientific facilities and territories in our two countries are opening up in particular through the accord to set down the basic trend in long-range collaboration in science, technology and production up to the year 2000.

On the basis of centrally negotiated accords, the party organizations establish their own accountable contribution for having the advantages of socialism and its planned economy bring still greater benefits to our peoples.

The party collectives consider their concrete tasks of the incessant strengthening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the continuing consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. A rank of the first order attaches in this to still more fruitful cooperation and the responsible fulfilment of all obligations incumbent upon the party organizations because of the CEMA countries' coordinated economic strategy.

## II

In the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences the party organizations let themselves be guided by the indissoluble connection between the GDR's high sense of political responsibility for the safeguarding of peace and the strengthening of its economic capacity.

The centerpiece of status reports and decision-making is the greater contribution the communists are to make to the implementation of the economic strategy the 10th party congress issued.

The main thing is to draw concrete conclusions for the all-inclusive use of all factors in the intensively expanded reproduction, so as to provide the economy with a high rate of development that will ensure the continuation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy even under the conditions of sharp international class conflict.

All ways and means are used to achieve new great deeds of labor in the all-round fulfilment of the 1983 national economic plan and reach the targets completely that are contained in the campaign programs and competition obligations. In indissoluble unity with it, the necessary foundations are being laid for preparing new demanding objectives of the 1984 national economic plan which is aimed at high achievements and for a smooth transition to the new year of planning.

Proceeding from the evaluation and accounting for the results achieved in the implementation of the campaign programs, the party organizations concentrate on exhausting all so rces for performance growth and they are organizing a staunch effort on every job for high economic and social effects. To that end the party organizations are directing the working people's mass initiative at securing what has been accomplished and further extending, step by step, the people's material and cultural standard of living. They are drawing inferences for a higher level of management, planning and economic cost accounting and are creating the necessary prerequisites for a new important step toward tapping all reserves of intensively expanded reproduction as the main road for scientific progress.

The rate and quality of a successful continuation of the main task policy to a crucial extent depend on an unreserved readiness by the comrades to apply to their own efforts the criteria set by the party resolutions and create in each work collective a frank, confident and progressive campaign atmosphere in which the working people's dedication and creativeness fully unfold and the socialist way of life is nurtured in every way.

The level of party and mass activity can mainly be gaged against the results achieved in persuasively explaining party policy to the masses and in organizing with them the effort for a higher contribution to the continued implementation of the economic and social policy.

In working with the people one should always proceed from the consideration that a rapid increase in labor productivity is inseparable from socialist consciousness development and from further gradual improvements in the working people's material and cultural standard of living.

A priority concern of the party organizations is to direct all managers still more resolutely at the objectively higher requirements and enable them to assume in each situation their political responsibility for their collective, fully as organizers of labor. They confer on how the managers can still better be enabled to form close ties with their collectives and use the entire capacity and the knowledge and skills of the working people for responsibly fulfilling, day after day, the plan tasks and the obligations for exceeding them.

The pivot and fulcrum in the political management of economic processes is coping with the task of making the cost/benefit ratio much more favorable and considerably increasing labor productivity and economic efficiency above and beyond plan targets.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences consider and decide how the persistent effort for tapping and using all performance and efficiency reserves is to be undertaken in their area of responsibility. They deal with organizing management examples, experience exchange and performance comparisons, by which unjustified level disparities are reduced, all collectives are brought closer to to best performances, and productivity and efficiency reserves are tapped in the combines at a far broader range.

Crucial connecting links and criteria against which the results in the political leadership activity of the party organizations are measured:

Through a much better economic utilization of scientific-technical data, the intensification of mental work and the reduction of time-frames for R&D and the transfer of top achievements to the production stage, a noteworthy boost of labor productivity is to be achieved.

Production consumption and costs must be reduced rigorously to get high growth rates for net production and for making a profit.

Efforts are to be directed at optimum results in the refining of available energy sources, raw materials and semifabricates and their most rational use. Secondary raw materials must be recycled much more. The effort to reduce imports from the nonsocialist economic region must be carried on with the greatest resolve.



Management activity and the mass initiative ought to be oriented with richer results at the full utilization of the public labor capacity, the whole capacity use of the basic assets and of working hours, the improvement of labor discipline and the cutback in standstill and downtime. For that the Schwedt Initiative ought to be applied broadly.

A rational use of available basic assets and their modernization, renewal and reconstruction ought to be ensured primarily through an effective use of one's own means of rationalization.

A much higher contribution is required in the development and production of high-grade industrial consumer commodities to make supplies more diversified on a high level in conformity with public demands.

Of fundamental importance to a stable development of the GDR economy are the fulfilment, proper as to plans and contracts, of all export obligations, the production of marketable top products yielding much foreign currency, and making available spare parts and services proper as to demands.

Bringing about a higher level of intensification and rationalization requires an acceleration in the application of microelectronics and robot technology with the aim of obtaining a considerable improvement of the technological production level while cutting back jobs and improving working and living conditions.

Another perceptible reduction in the transport volume is needed by optimizing transport and delivery relations and shifting transports from roads to tracks.

Special attention is called for in stably supplying the population with products of daily needs, high-grade consumer goods, services and repairs, with a higher level of cooperation between commerce, industry, agriculture and the foodstuffs industry and an efficient handling of transshipment and commercial processes and the lowering of losses.

Using the working people's wealth of ideas and all territorial opportunities for the implementation of the housing construction program.

The implementation according to plan of the housing construction program, the centerpiece of the party's social policy, the further development of the GDR capital Berlin, and the completion of construction projects for strengthening our republic's economic capacity, according to schedule, lend a great impulse to the creativeness of the construction workers, which must be encouraged in every way by the target-directed political efforts of the comrades and highly skilled state management activity.

The focal point of party and mass activity here is to achieve the planned performance improvement and efficiency growth at a higher technological level and stronger intensification through critically reducing the use of raw materials, semifabricates and energy and ensuring a much more favorable cost/benefit ratio. All collectives therefore must intensify their struggle for an obligatory application of optimum values.

Through consistently carrying on the housing construction program, which is obtaining qualitatively new features in its unity of new construction, reconstruction, modernization and refurbishing, greater responsibility accrues to the party organizations and their executives, the comrades in the state organs and the commissions of the National Front of the GDR. More attention to intensive urban development and the rational use of much of the old structural substance in the residential sector makes possible and demands at the same time tapping all territorial reserves for a mighty performance growth in construction repair capacities so as to achieve a still higher sociopolitical effectiveness of complex housing construction.

Kreis delegates conferences ought to consider and decide how to aid still more successfully the party organizations in the kreis construction enterprises, the building trade enterprises, the building trade production cooperatives and the industrial and agricultural construction collectives, so as to fulfil the new and higher requirements. The desire of private construction workers to come up with higher achievements in the repair sector ought to be encouraged in every way.

Objective requirements for future performance improvements in socialist agriculture demand a considerable boost in farm production through extensive and more efficient intensification.

On behalf of stably supplying the population with foodstuffs and industry with raw materials, an important responsibility of the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences is to consider how the two closely combined basic tasks of the party's agrarian policy--a stable performance and efficiency development of farm production and the shaping of social life in the villages--can continue to be implemented with success.

The point is to strengthen the rural party organizations in every way to increase their influence on the development of rural public life and a comprehensive encouragement of intra-cooperative democracy. Political-ideological work and management activity are to be aimed in a target-directed manner at mobilizing all capacities so as to achieve, through relatively lower and partly even absolutely lower allocations in material, energy and investments, higher yields in the fields and improving performances in the stables. What matters is to tap all yield and performance reserves and promote the streamlined agricultural reproduction process through the strengthening of diverse cooperation relations.

It remains a crucial task for the crop and livestock production collectives to create jointly all prerequisites for a conscientious fulfilment of the state production plans and do everything they can in the work in fall for raising the production in 1984.

The key issue lies in high and stable yields on the fields for all cultures in every cooperative, every VEG and every acreage, the complete utilization of each square meter of soil, the steady improvement of its fertility and a great reduction of losses.

Activities are to be aimed at accomplishing the planned achievements in livestock production primarily through fodder produced in the economy itself and making available every day the amounts of meat, milk, butter and eggs that are needed to feed the population. One gets there through a high degree of fodder utilization, much better breeding results, a radical reduction of losses in livestock feed and animals, and the tapping of all possible fodder reserves in agriculture and other sectors.

Through a purposeful application of science and technology data, the use of best farming experiences, and the application of acreage-related maximum yield conceptions and stable-related optimum performance conceptions, the considerable production and efficiency reserves must be tapped faster still and unjustified disparities among the LPG's must be surmounted with greater determination.

What matters is to increase the contribution from agronomists and associates to speeding up yields and performances in crop and livestock production.

For perfecting the management, planning and economic cost accounting in socialist agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, the party organizations are concentrating on further, politically and economically, solidifying the LPG's and on making better use still of the potentials of cooperative property.

The comrades are very circumspect in applying the agrarian price reform and in combining the political management of that process with an extensive application of socialist industrial management. They are encouraging all initiatives for yield and performance improvements, the complete enforcement of the performance principle, and prudent computations and thrifty economic management, intent on thoroughly improving the cost/benefit ratio.

Through constructive cooperation between crop and livestock production, between the LPG's and the communities, great reserves are to be tapped for higher and more efficient production and for further improving the working and living conditions, the implementation of the party's agrarian policy being turned into a concern of the whole village.

The party organizations in every way promote the FDJ initiatives for coping with these demands in creating the necessary conditions for tying youth up still more closely with the soil, the animals and their village.

The party collectives consider concrete measures to strengthen the socialist mass organizations of the cooperative farmers and cooperative gardeners, the Farmers' Mutual Aid Association and the Association of Allotment Gardeners, Homesteads and Small Stock Breeders, and exert their efforts toward a better utilization of the local reserves for crop and livestock production in individual farms, plots and households.

In the reporting election meetings the comrades deal with further measures for making unhewn timber available and its effective use in the economy, and with the protection and clean-up of forests.

The implementation of the party's economic and social policy makes high demands on the comrades in the trade unions and in the socialist youth association.

It is up to the party organizations to reinforce through the party elections the comrades' influence on the resolute implementation of the Central Committee resolutions and on raising the level of management activity in the mass organizations. Mainly those aspects of ideological work and political leadership must be further extended which effect a further all-round promotion of the working people's creative capacities in socialist competition. That includes the struggle for a massive application of best experiences, a rapid handling and utilization of the productive ideas and suggestions of the innovators, rationalizers and inventors, and effective aid to the energy of youth in the "FDJ Peace Rally," and especially to the economic initiatives of the youth brigades, youth projects and the movement of the Pair of the Masters of Tomorrow.

One should always see to it that the youth gets actively involved in the implementation of the tasks assigned by the parties in all sectors of public life and gets mobilized for new revolutionary deeds for the all-round strengthening of the GDR while getting set for the National Youth Festival in June 1984 in the GDR capital Berlin.

The comrades in the trade unions and in the socialist youth association are heightening their political commitment through exemplary work performance, a combative stance, and a resolute attitude toward further reinforcing a socialist position on labor and socialist property.

### III

A key issue in the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences pertains to the continued all-round strengthening of socialist state power.

The executive party organs and basic organizations are dealing with the problem of how they can still better exercise their responsibility for the fulfilment of the overall social tasks together with the implementation of the socialist communal policy and can ensure the citizens' active participation in the solving of state tasks.

The party collectives are encouraging in every way the further spread of socialist democracy, the various forms and methods by which the citizens take a creative part in the management and planning of public processes and in the preparation and implementation of economic, social, cultural and communal policy tasks.

Status reports and decision-making furthermore have the purpose to make still more productive the close cooperation among enterprises, institutions and official territorial organs and the common efforts toward territorial rationalization, the effective use of the public labor capacity.

The entire capacity of the local people's representations has to be concentrated every day on the fulfilment of the national economic plan and on exhausting all territorial reserves for economic performance improvements as well as on the further improvement of the working and living conditions. That includes a broad spread and promotion of the civic initiative in the competition, "More Beautiful Towns and Communities--Join-in!"



That also heightens the responsibility of the comrades in the local people's representations and their organs for the deputies' activities in their work collectives, residential areas and fields of responsibility that are closely linked with the lives of the citizens.

All party organizations see to it that the citizens are always in an activating manner informed about overall social and communal policy matters, that their concerns are rapidly reacted to, and that their recommendations and suggestions are examined objectively and implemented without delay as possibilities permit.

Such an open-minded and constructive atmosphere which nurtures all creative initiatives for the good of the people is of special importance in view of the coming communal elections and their being well prepared in terms of political, organizational and personnel considerations.

The party organizations ought to set down measures for how the comrades in the local people's representations and their organs should organize the political conversation with the citizens down to every home and family.

In the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences the comrades among the deputies and associates of official organs account for the implementation of the conclusions drawn from an analysis of the last people's elections and for their political work with the population, the processing of public petitions, recommendations and suggestions.

Organizing confident personal conversations with the citizens calls for a coordinated cooperation among all social forces in the residential areas, an increased radiating capacity of the residential area's party organizations, and an action capability for the residential party activists' groups and a further strengthening of the commissions of the National Front of the GDR. The party organizations ought to establish concrete rules about that in their reporting election meetings.

The party organizations bring a higher influence to bear on the streamlined political activities by all party forces in urban residential areas and villages and inspire the comrades in the local people's representations, social organizations and the commissions of the National Front with high energy. They ensure the party's influence in each community and local district as a basic requirement for the further development of rural public life.

In the daily struggle for implementing the party resolutions, the party organizations are reinforcing the SED's comradely cooperation with the friendly parties, the mass organizations and all other social forces united in the National Front of the GDR.

A militant priority task for the party organizations in all public sectors is to promote in every way at all times the citizens' concern about the protection of socialism and state security.

The party elections generate new initiatives for an exemplary fulfilment of the class mission of the NVA, the border troops of the GDR and the protective and security organs.



In view of the exacerbation of the international situation caused by the most aggressive imperialist circles, we must do everything we can to ensure the GDR's defense capability on the appropriate level through firm comradeship-in-arms with the armed forces and protective and security organs of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states.

Educational work aims at reinforcing the unshakable attitude in fighting always for unconditionally fulfilling orders on behalf of the secure protection of socialism and peace.

The comrades in the protective and security organs always ought to pay much attention to prudently analyzing the situation in their area of responsibility and ensuring at all times public order and security through close cooperation with the GDR citizens.

The requirements for socialist military education, the rating of the fighting strength and combat readiness of the militia, the working people's active participation in civil defense, and the mobilizing of youth for premilitary training belong in the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences.

The party collectives deliberate and decide on how they can make the citizens' ties with the armed organs still closer, fulfil their tasks in the selection, recruitment and care of a new generation of career soldiers at a still higher level, and work together with the reservists collectives.

It is in line with the overall social need for reliable national defense to use economic possibilities still more efficiently for providing the armed forces and protective and security organs with high fighting capacity and combat readiness. In all public domains the party organizations are fighting resolutely for strictly abiding by socialist legality, the consolidation of party and state discipline, and exemplary order and security.

#### IV

Ever higher requirements arise from the continued shaping of the developed socialist society as a process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes for the party organizations' political leadership activity in all its complexity.

A high demand placed on party work is to invest ever more effectively the science and educational potential in the strengthening of the GDR's economic capacity, the enrichment of the citizens' intellectual life, and the heightening of their material and cultural standard of living.

For that, all political-ideological and material-technical premises have to be created providing a high level of scientific work and increasing economic results from it.

With all the means at their command the party organizations promote the development of party-minded positions in the relentless struggle for top achievements of international rank, and a combative, creative work atmosphere, so that science data can more rapidly and effectively brought to bear on our intensively expanded reproduction.

Powerful new impulses ought to emanate from the party elections for still closer productive cooperation between the combines' R&D capacities and the institutions of the Academy of Sciences, the universities, colleges and technical schools.

A great number of patents, international top achievements for export, revolutionizing results in the development of technologies and procedures, trail-blazing results in raw material refining, and new products high in intrinsic value therefore are an important yardstick for the combat readiness, commitment and responsible activities of the communists. On that basis we must perfect the production assortments in the enterprises for making foreign economy relations more effective and increase the profitability of exports.

The party collectives are increasing their influence on securing the unity of research, instruction and education through conscientiously arranging for study delegations, a productive scientific training and communist education for the students and the political and technical training and advanced training for the personnel.

Further developments in the activity of the party commissions for science and technology and of their specific party activists groups mainly ought to be aimed at enabling the party executives still better effectively to affect, politically and ideologically, the qualitative sides of the creative process of scientific-technical personnel and accomplishing the kind of level in party control that will permanently affect a clearly higher efficiency in all the scientific-technical work.

It remains a priority concern of party work to provide the young generation with solid political knowledge and instill firm class positions in it.

Bringing to realization the communist educational and cultural ideals and raising the level of every hour of instruction and of all pedagogical work and an effective link between the school and socialist life occupy a spot of priority in the party elections.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences deal with the growing responsibility the teachers, educators and all social forces have for the ideological training of youth that closely connects with practice and its class-bound education. A priority concern is to improve the effectiveness of party education and still better equip the teachers and educators, through a purposeful political-ideological influence, to engage in high-grade pedagogical efforts.

The party organizations see to it that the teachers' and educators' political and pedagogical efforts are extensively supported by all social forces.

The attention of the party collectives is aimed at effectively assisting the executives of the children and youth organization in carrying on the "FDJ Peace Rally" and the "Pioneer Expedition--My Homeland the GDR."

For educating morally solid citizens with strong characters, confident cooperation of the pedagogues with parents, work collectives and social forces is indispensable.

Status reports and decision-making also include the evaluation of previous results and determinations on the further tasks for the realization, according to plan, of the investment projects in public education and a greater effectiveness of the party supervision on the measures set down for the maintenance and repair of facilities.

The continued implementation of the cultural policy requirements of the 10th party congress requires that in all public sectors the party organization influence on a still more effective contribution by art and culture to the struggle for the safeguarding of peace and the strengthening of socialism be enhanced.

In the reporting election meetings and the delegates conferences the comrades deal with the increasing demands made on the ideological, educational and mobilizing capacity of art and culture and their increased impact on high deeds of labor for strengthening the workers and farmers power and the working people's readiness to defend the socialist accomplishments.

In dealing with these requirements, the party organizations consider that the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR increasingly depends on the cultural level of the workers class and that it demands the all-round development of socialist personality and the socialist lifestyle.

They confer and decide on further promoting a high work culture, the variety of cultural initiatives and in the creation of popular art, and the broad spread of intellectual-cultural life in the work collectives, residential areas and villages.

In this regard we must enable all leaders still more to live up to their cultural-political responsibility and coordinate their activities with the varied activities of the social organizations.

Realizing the high demands placed on the political education and civic posture of writers and artists, and striving for works of literature and art which reflect party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and a content of socialist ideas are important executive tasks in the party organizations. This amounts to further reinforcing the relationship of trust the artists and creators of culture have with the party and the full exercise of responsibility of the social partners for their creative work.

Increasing importance attaches in implementing the party's social policy to the measures by which the party organizations ensure high quality and effectiveness of medical care and social welfare for the citizens, the concern for their well-being. In the reporting election meetings one should confer on how, through bolstering the fighting strength of the party organizations and improving the efficacy of political-ideological work, the confidential relations of physicians and nurses in the health and social welfare institutions can be deepened with the citizens and how to achieve a qualitative performance improvement in medical and social care through the most suitable investment of all capacities and funds and through good labor organization.

In line with the social position of women in our workers and farmers state, the party organizations are promoting their vocational and political activity, their further education and their assuming executive functions. Active assistance should be given to the development of physical culture and sports.

## V

The party elections confront each party organization with the task further to elevate the party's leadership role in all spheres of public life, as demanded by the conditions of the struggle in our time, bolster the fighting strength of the basic organizations, and deepen the communists' confident relations with the masses.

The party organizations and their leaderships concentrate on further elevating the level of party and mass activities in terms of the three main trends in the party's political leadership in social processes as issued by the 10th party congress.

On the basis of the fine results achieved thus far in the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences define how the political, economic, social, intellectual-cultural and military tasks the Central Committee has assigned are to be brought to realization in cooperation with the working people.

This involves especially determining the main thrust of the political-ideological work and elevating party influence in the decisive sectors of our struggle, so as to fully develop well-timed and constructive solutions for problems that have now become ripe and a sound ability among all communists to bring out fully the working people's creative initiatives through their mobilizing and inspiring efforts in the work collectives.

This above all raises qualitatively new demands for constantly elevating the ideological and educational level of intra-party life and raises demands for the unity of ideological education and exemplary deeds of labor for fulfilling the tasks assigned.

The party collectives deliberate on how in this process the qualitative strengthening of party ranks and their organized influence on the collectives are to be secured, how the ideological and organizational unity and cohesiveness of the party are to be further reinforced, and which demands arise from that for the activity, revolutionary passion and combat readiness of each communist.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences determine how tasks to be solved are to be always and everywhere conferred on with the citizens and how they are actively drawn into the implementation of the decisions.

A higher action capability of the party organizations crucially depends on how we succeed in carrying the Central Committee resolutions without any loss of time and any loss of information, and on the basis of democratic centralism, into each work collective.



The more concretely and distinctly the situation and the mood and opinions of the citizens are assessed and political mass activity is organized, the more powerfully will develop the people's creativeness, activities and energy.

The key to that is the implementation of a mass-related working style and the targeted assignment of a large collective of tried and tested functionaries of the party, the state, the economy and the mass organizations in everyday political talks with the working people. That provides the propagandists and agitators with special assistance and support.

An essential contribution to bolstering the fighting strength of the basic organizations and their ideological radiation lies in making still better use of these great intellectual potentials for deepening further the theoretical, political and historic knowledge of the comrades in the circles, seminars and lecture cycles of the party study year.

All comrades must be enabled constantly to exercise their duties and rights as vested in the SED statute.

A central place in the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences should thus be attached to enforcing the Leninist norms for party life as set down in the SED statute. Crucial factors for high-level intra-party life are the ideological toughening of the communists, an absolute fidelity to resolutions, a broad spread of intra-party democracy, the assigning and accounting for party missions, the application of criticism and self-criticism, the education and training for the cadre, and permanent party controls. They must principally be reflected in demanding membership meetings and vivid party group activity.

With a still greater determination the party organizations have to organize their membership meetings as a chief form of education and training, information and argumentation, opinion exchange and requirement assignment, rendering accounts and control. Under that aspect the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences deal with the qualitatively new criteria for implementing the Central Committee resolutions. In an objective, critical and constructive manner, they rate their own work results, generalize the experiences of the best and the conditions under which top accomplishments are achieved, uncover causes for backlogs still surviving, and set down measures to do away with them.

An important prerequisite for continually elevating the level of intra-party life is the party executives' comradely and individual work with the party members and candidates. Of great value for enhancing the communists' activities and radiating power therefore are personal talks which are to be conducted in preparation and in the course of the party elections by the basic organization executives with a selected circle of comrades, male and female.

The party collectives consider how more comrades still can be drawn into actively cooperating in volunteer organizations, commissions, working teams and party organization activists groups. One must promote in particular the mobility and action capability of the party activists groups, the concrete involvement of the party activists in resolving newly ripened tasks and a full exercise of responsibility by the comrades in the mass organizations.



## VI

Preparing and conducting the party elections demands purposeful political leadership of the bezirk managements, kreis managements and basic organizations. On a regular basis they are assessing the course and results of the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences and make sure the information about them is correct.

A key issue in the political leadership activity by the bezirk and kreis managements is the direct help and support they give to the basic organizations for implementing the 10th party congress and the Central Committee resolutions.

The leading party organs generalize the rich store of experiences from the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences and make it available to all through experience exchange and performance comparisons. They carefully gather all suggestions, recommendations and criticism, ensure a conscientious handling and resolute implementation of all that is worthwhile, and see to it that concrete inferences are drawn from it for their leadership activity.

The kreis managements conscientiously make use of the information portraying the political situation in the basic organizations and react responsibly and immediately to questions and problems raised by party executives, membership meetings and work collectives. That also enables them to spot developmental problems in good time, react fast and flexible to ripened issues and aim their management activity at major focal points.

The kreis managements put the great capacity of the basic organizations best into effect by enabling the party executives to engage in creative efforts. Decisive here is that they help them right on the spot in ensuring political stability in all areas and always applying the incorruptible yardsticks of the Central Committee resolutions when assessing what has been accomplished and in preparing new tasks.

In implementation of the qualitatively new criteria and higher requirements, the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences pass concretely accountable resolutions. They are aimed at evoking new creative initiatives and fulfilling the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress and the Central Committee sessions and the requirements from the speech of Comrade Erich Honecker before the first kreis secretaries in their areas of responsibility.

The party groups, departmental party organizations and basic organizations set down measures for the all-round fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of the 1983 national economic plan, for meeting the additional commitments and for a smooth lead to the 1984 plan.

Using the results of the plan debate, the party organizations in the economic sectors elaborate party-bound positions for the ambitious 1984 campaign programs considered and decided on in the January membership meetings. To that end the reporting election meetings determine how our Marxist-Leninist world-outlook is to be propagated still more aggressively and the political-ideological work with the working people is to be organized still more effectively, what the concrete measurable contribution the party organization is to make to strengthening our

economic capacity and in the peace struggle consists of, and by which means the party's fighting strength and the level of leadership activity is heightened.

The resolutions taken by the kreis and bezirk delegates conferences ought to contain the political-ideological, economic and intellectual-cultural targets for 1984, the more long-range leadership tasks for solving major tasking areas, and the concrete and accountable ways and responsibilities in fulfilling them. They include such tasks and measures in their resolutions as will guarantee political success for preparing and conducting the communal elections and lend strong impulses to the mass campaign in preparation for the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

Such comrades, male and female, ought to be nominated for the new executives as have successfully met their political test at the focal points of public life, enjoy great confidence in their party and work collectives and residential areas, and work constantly for further strengthening the relationship of trust between the party and the people.

Communists in leadership functions excel in their unshakable loyalty to the party, their firm ties with the workers' lives, ideological fighting positions, outstanding deeds of labor, and exemplary public activity. With a great sense of responsibility, high dedication and revolutionary creativeness they are fighting for progressive changes and are mobilizing the working people's wealth of ideas and creativity for the resolute implementation of the party resolutions.

What matters is to propose party members for the new executives who know how to implement the party decisions with energy and great dedication, persuasively carry the party's word into the masses, always act in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, exercise class vigilance, everywhere take issue with the aggressive, anti-human policy of imperialism, and leave no leeway for enemy influences.

The party executives ought to be reinforced with politically experienced and battle-tested workers and young party members who have proven themselves in the FDJ.-

Immediately after the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences the newly elected executives introduce themselves to the work collectives and explain the tasks decided on.

5885

CS0: 2300/20

MADRID ACCORD PUBLISHED VERBATIM IN SED ORGAN

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by "Gz." datelined Berlin, 11 Sep 83: "CSCE Documents Published in the GDR: Differences From Practice in Dealing With Petitions"]

[Text] The weekend edition of the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND is of documentary value. As was the case with the frequently quoted Final Act of Helsinki, now--in addition to the full text of the press conference of the Soviet chief of staff Marshal Orgakov which took up two pages--the final document of the Madrid Conference of the signatory states of the CSCE act [Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe] was also published. It was more than two pages long. With reference to the Helsinki text, many applications had been submitted in the GDR asking for permission to leave the country. Now many readers of GDR newspapers may again show an interest in the chapter entitled "Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Areas." Thus, the following sentence will certainly attract attention, according to which the states participating in the Madrid Conference will give favorable consideration to "petitions dealing with contacts and regular get-togethers on the basis of family ties, petitions concerning the unification of families and marriages between citizens of different states, and they should be made in the same spirit." The Madrid document continues by stating that in emergency cases petitions for family get-togethers should be expedited as much as possible. In cases of family unification and marriages under normal circumstances decisions should be made within 6 months. For other family get-togethers waiting periods should be gradually reduced. The current practice of GDR authorities contradicts the regulation established at the Madrid Conference, because as it stands now the filing of petitions or repeated refilings for the unification of families is not leading "to any changes in the rights and duties of petitioners or their family members, among other things, with respect to employment, housing, residence status, family subsidies, access to benefits in the social or economic area...."

It is likely that experts will be able to refer often to that part of the Madrid document which stipulates improvements in statistics. Following the publication of the Final Act of Helsinki, which also recommended improvements in statistics, the GDR reduced its statistical publications considerably, for instance, in foreign trade. The new declaration of Madrid states that the signatory states intend "to intensify their efforts to improve the

comparability, the range and the clarity of their economic and trade statistics." Furthermore, the document contains references to the so-called compensation transactions which had increased in recent years. The useful role of these compensation transactions is being recognized; at the same time, however, there is an awareness "that business arrangements of this kind can lead to problems because purchases and sales are tied together." Not long ago, the question of compensation and exchange transactions again played an important role during the Leipzig fall fair and was criticized by West German exhibitors.

8991

CSO: 2300/419

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PARTY ORGAN QUOTES FRG EX-PILOT ON KAL INCIDENT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Sep 83 p 5

[Article by "Gz." datelined Berlin 15 Sep 83: "NEUUES DEUTSCHLAND Prints Text of Speculations on Espionage: Former West German Flight Captain Seeks to Justify Shooting Down of Jumbo Jet"]

[Text] The SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reprinted the full text of an article--almost half a page--by the well-known West German author Rudolf Braunburg, a former Lufthansa pilot. The article originally appeared in the Hamburg weekly DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT. The headline under which the article is presented to its readers is as follows: "The Dead and the Marketing of Grief, Former Lufthansa Flight Captain on Spy Provocation." In the West German paper the article appeared under the same headline but with a different subtitle. The article supports almost all of the theses presented by the East, according to which the American secret service could have been involved. Against the background of earlier incidents and planes that have been shot down in recent years, the hysterical reactions, "even those by West German government circles," are exaggerated. According to Braunburg, they will have to accept the fact that they are being accused of marketing grief to undermine the peace demonstrations of the so-called hot autumn. It is "an open secret which can easily be verified that agents and diplomats travel regularly on these routes between the United States and Far Eastern countries, carrying the necessary secret documents in small suitcases which are always placed under the same seats that are reserved for them, and these gentlemen are known to the pilots flying these routes. Assumptions of a purely theoretical nature: Is it possible that the KAL captain who according to my experiences was obeying military guidelines was following strict orders not to land on Soviet territory under any circumstances? Because the consequence would have been that certain persons on board--carrying sensitive documents--would have fallen into the hands of the Soviets? Romantic notions--but there are times when even a science fiction writer cannot keep up with what is going on backstage in world politics."

Since 1947, 32 civilian planes have been shot down for violating foreign air space. "And this is where the real political scandal begins. Pilots who have been protesting for decades against the international habit of



shooting down planes and not only now, as the politicians are doing, would have been grateful to their governments if they had shed at least a few of those tears all the other times when planes were shot down rather than so ostentatiously crying now that, after 32 incidents, the Soviets are involved."

8991

CSO: 2300/419

CATHOLIC YOUTH MINISTRY PROCEDURES, THEMES, GOALS

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 23 No 8 Aug 83 pp 12-13

[Article by Egbert Brock, staff editor: "There Are No Taboos: Youth Ministry in the GDR"]

[Text] Young people's pilgrimages are the expression of a continuing spiritual ministry for youth at the grass-roots level, because the only way to inspire them to sacrifice one or more days of a free weekend and participate in such an event is by communication with them on a regular basis, attacking their problems and joining them in the search for solutions. Of course, the theme of the pilgrimage must be attractive and the manner of presentation must appeal to young people. Experience and the relatively large number of participants are an indication that young people are quite willing to take part if the events are well-prepared. Experience and the relatively large number of participants are an indication that young people are quite willing to take part if the events are well-prepared. Here they feel that they are listened to and accepted, they experience solidarity and the living church. Since preparation and implementation are always team work and under the supervision of experienced youth ministers, all the prerequisites exist for inspiring and captivating boys and girls. Everyday activities of the youth ministry, however, are much more prosaic, because they are subject to the limitations of the parish and its pastor who, as a rule, has only few young people in his congregation; he does not have a band at his disposal and sometimes his abilities are not adequate to deal with young people (it is not intended as a criticism, because not everybody can do everything), and perhaps his retirement is not far off. Nevertheless, every parish is showing concern for the young and rising generation.

As a rule, young people are invited once a week to participate in group or youth gatherings in the evening. The dynamics of the evening depend more or less on the personal qualities of the respective priest. There is practically no other area in the ministry which depends so much on the person of the priest as the youth ministry does. And it happened many a time that the youth work of a parish collapsed when a priest was transferred, because in spite of good intentions the successor did not have this or that quality which was the reason why the predecessor was able to captivate the young people.

The spectrum of topics discussed during these group evenings is very broad. There is a desire to deal with questions that concern young people. There are no taboos. Theological topics dealing with morals are as "in" as are those dealing with the Bible. There is no lack of questions concerned with critical church issues. And answers to questions from the realm of current politics are in demand. The goal of the entire youth ministry is to equip the young Christian in a manner which will strengthen his faith and enable him to fulfill the tasks expected of him by the church and by society. Furthermore, he is to realize that the proclamation of the faith is not only the task of priests.

Of course, no pastor will leave the thematic arrangement of a youth evening to chance. A long-term concept of topics is mandatory in spite of all the openness when it comes to current questions. The pastor receives assistance and support from the appropriate youth ministry office which provides topics for a certain period of time and supplies the necessary materials.

#### Youth Hours on the Topic of Peace

Of late, youth hours of special interest were those dealing with the topic of peace. Many young people confirmed unanimously that the orientation they received on several evenings was very valuable. They found out, for instance, that the Catholic Church does not adhere to a position of absolute pacifism. Furthermore, it was pointed out to them explicitly that every discussion of peace must also take into account the fact that armament may be necessary to prevent weapons from being used. In addition, the youth meetings led to the realization that the Sermon on the Mount does not offer a recipe for a peace policy. A unilateral renunciation of weapons would create a vacuum which could provoke crises and signify an invitation to the enemy to cross the borders. It was emphasized again and again that the conviction must be taken seriously of those who claim "that unfortunately there is only one way to prevent the outbreak of a war today, which is by maintaining the balance between opposing forces." The young people were grateful for information on legal regulations that are connected with the service in the National People's Army and information about the experiences of those people who had already served their time honorably in the Army by bearing arms or as construction soldiers.

As a rule, youth hours do not only consist of conversation groups. Joyful songs are such, literary samplings are presented and everybody takes part in more or less familiar party games. Frequently such an evening begins with participation in the evening mass. Another component of a good youth ministry is going to the movies as a group or attending theater performances. They offer ample material for fruitful discussions. And there are quite a few youth ministers who have used the medium of recorded music to turn young people into enthusiastic supporters of classical music, particularly sacred music.

The work with young people also includes the ecumenical movement. One can experience again and again that Catholic and Protestant youths are attending joint meetings to improve mutual understanding and get to know one another.

Frequently new methods are used since not every parish is able to maintain qualified youth work. One solution is to meet at the district level. Such meetings can take place monthly or less frequently on weekends. Last year as well as this year, meetings of this kind took place at various locations in the district of Burg, for instance. The list of topics was extensive: "The Catholic Church and the Jewry," "Typical Characteristics of the Catholic Church, (celibacy, confession among other themes), Put to the Test," "Church in Criticism of 'Appearance' and Reality," "Can God Also Be Found Outside the Church?" Meetings of this kind offer many advantages. They can--last but not least based on the selection of a qualified speaker--be better prepared when it comes to the subject matter and be presented in a more appealing manner, and they unite a larger number of young people, in other words, they strengthen the feeling of a common experience.

#### Youth Houses

What has been described so far deals with the area of the youth ministry "on location," in parishes, vicarages and small curates. Not included is the work of Catholic student associations, on which we will report later on, and the activities of the youth ministry offices of dioceses and episcopal offices that are not restricted to the preparation of materials and the implementation of annual youth pilgrimages. They are also in charge of the youth houses which are to be used to provide a continuing solid religious instruction for many young Catholics and to make sure that they receive assistance as they enter life.

It is not rare at all to hear married couples say, who have their own children by now: "We do not only owe the fact that we met each other to St Michael's House in Rossbach (episcopal office of Magdeburg) but also our thorough knowledge of the Bible and our musical abilities and skills. The house is in large part responsible for the fact that there is so much music in our house, instrumental and vocal, that we know how to celebrate holidays and gather friends around us."

Indeed, the program of a youth house is many-faceted. It has something for everybody. Although our discussion below is based primarily on the work of the youth ministry office in Magdeburg and its houses and establishments, it may be deduced that the work in the other jurisdictions is equally effective, because all youth ministers work closely together and consult with one another frequently.

The annual program of the youth ministry office in Magdeburg, for instance, contained a reference to a seminar for girls which was held in Rossbach. Problems were discussed, dealing with the fact that it is very difficult to always live as others expect you to. And, of course, there was also enough time for crafts and fun. The boys were attending a seminar in Stendal which dealt with problems that are part of growing up. Several young people who assist in their own parishes met several times in Rossbach's St Michael's House to continue their instruction. They deepened their knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, learned how to deal with people who are different and think differently and found out how to celebrate Advent and carnival in their own parishes and small groups.



In great demand are information, encounter and meditation days as well as spiritual exercises. Whereas the first ones mentioned prepare a young person for concrete events in life, for instance, the beginning of university studies and life among students or draft into military service, and meditation days, among other things, provide an opportunity to reflect on the priesthood and life in religious orders, spiritual exercises are intended to assist in the search for God and one's own concrete path of life. Girls and boys like to participate in the celebration of Good Friday and Easter liturgies in youth houses, because young people spend their time with those whom they already know.

The above is only a small part of what is happening in the GDR within the framework of the youth ministry. There is much that will have to remain unsaid, although it would be worth mentioning and emulating. The opportunities are great for the youth ministry in our country.

8991

CSO: 2300/403

## AERIAL TARGET SIMULATOR FOR GROUND FORCES DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1983 (signed to press 15 May 83)  
pp 177-78

[Article by Lt Col W. Bresemann, military scientists: "Air Defense Training Equipment for Motorized Rifle and Tank Regiments"]

[Text] Combat with the air enemy under the conditions of the use of high-speed and highly maneuverable air attack resources at low altitudes places the greatest demands on the antiaircraft-missile gunners and military collectives operating the equipment and armament of the field air defense. Rapid and effective action is required, for the air targets are in the field of fire of the weapons for only a few seconds. High demands also result from this on the training systems, training equipment and target simulation devices. They have to keep pace with the development of up-to-date weapon systems and must have a high utilization level.

In addition to complicated training equipment, every other opportunity should be taken to provide even more effective training. By presenting some air defense training equipment that is used in the motorized rifle and tank regiments of the National People's Army, an attempt is made to show how with low expenditures one can meet the increased demands on the resources to guarantee combat training.

### Air Target Simulation System

The air target simulation system (LZD) is a luminous point system with a horizontal as well as a combined dive and climb stretch. The drive of the moving luminous points on these stretches occurs with the aid of a three-phase motor over rope pulls. The horizontal stretch is about 85 meters in length, the dive and climb stretches about 35 meters. The velocity of movement of the luminous points on the rope pulls is 8 or 11 meters per second.

The direction of flight (movement of the luminous points) is reversible to the right or to the left. A portable control panel serves for remote control. This LZD is now being introduced in the units at the combat duty sites of the 23-4 antiaircraft gun motor carriages in place of the air target system, the lights chain and the disk carriage. It is intended for the training of all air defense weapon systems of the MSR/PR [Mortarized Rifle Regiment/Tank Regiment] for air targets.

The LZD is mounted on the two outermost masts of the former air target system. The middle mast and the two small deflection masts are no longer needed for this system.

The operating voltage of the drive is 380 V, that of the infrared sources is 24 V and the control voltage is 220 V. The infrared sources in use are 15-W. The possible number of executed movements of a luminous point is 150 per hour. The power consumption depends on the velocity and reaches a maximum of 1 kilowatt-hour.

#### Air Target Imitator 5000

The air target imitator LZI 5000 (Figure 1) is a target simulation device for short-range antiaircraft missile complexes that are equipped with an infrared guided homing head and for the 23-4 antiaircraft gun motor carriage. It is used at antiaircraft gun firing ranges and in troop training areas when the required degree of safety is present.

The interference system built into the LZI 5000 S air target imitator makes possible a second launch of interference carriers. The basic version LZI 5000 of the air target imitator has no interference carriers and is intended as a target simulation device for the antiaircraft gun motor carriage 23-4. The ignition point for trajectory marking is regulated through the fuse setting (Figure 2).

The mass of the projectile is 14.1 kg, the propulsion time of the trajectory marking system is about 40 seconds and the burning time of the interference system is  $4 \pm 2$  seconds. The first delayed-action fuse burns  $3.5 \pm 1.5$  seconds, the second  $11 \pm 2.5$  seconds after ignition of the trajectory marking system. The angle of departure can be from 20 degrees to 65 degrees.

The flight parameters show the following values:

<u>Launch Angle in Degrees</u>	<u>Range of Fire in Meters</u>	<u>Maximum Altitude in Meters</u>
20	5,320	600
30	6,400	1,200
45	6,900	2,400
50	6,700	2,600
60	5,900	3,300
65	5,200	3,700

#### Equipment Complex for Controlling the Training of Antiaircraft-Missile Gunners

The equipment complex makes possible complex control of the action of the antiaircraft-missile gunners in combat training. Employment can occur under stationary or field conditions. In case of action in a combat vehicle, the velocity should not exceed 20 km per hour. The terrain must be level.

The structure of the equipment complex can be seen in Figure 3. It operates as follows:



Figure 1. Air Target Imitator in Launching Receptacle



Figure 2. Projectile Tip of the Air Target Imitator

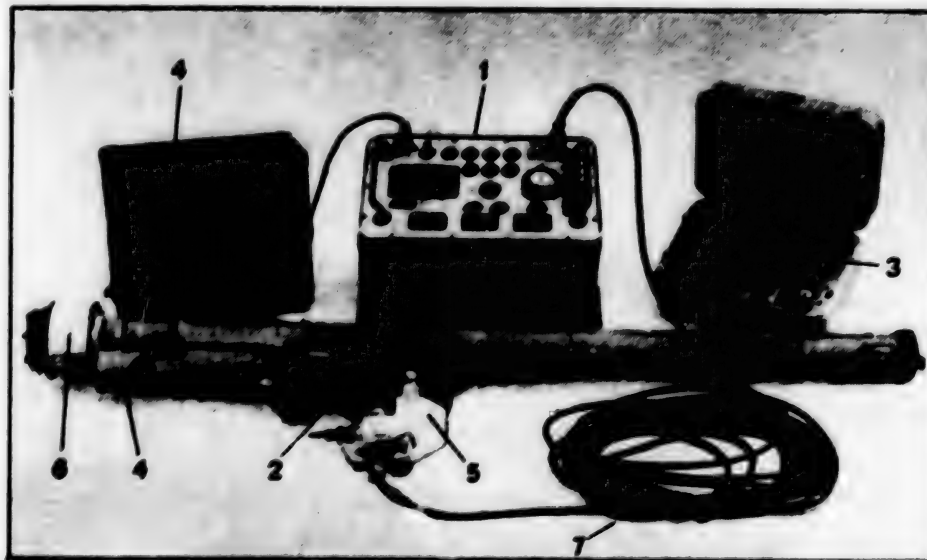


Figure 3. Equipment Complex for Controlling the Training of Antiaircraft-Missile Gunners

Key:

- |                      |                    |                              |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Monitoring device | 3. Battery charger | 5. Elevation angle indicator |
| 2. Launch mechanism  | 4. Voltage sources | 6. Lead Angle indicator      |
|                      |                    | 7. Linkage cable             |



A phase comparison occurs through direction-finding coil, a reference voltage source and phase detectors in the lead angle indicator. Depending on the phase deviation, a voltage is taken in accordance with the size and polarity that is vertically and horizontally proportional to the lead angles. The elevation angle indicator operates according to the principle of an inert pendulum. The pendulum axis is mechanically linked with a potentiometer. If the complex is turned in the vertical plane, the pendulum will swing and a direct voltage is taken from the potentiometer that is proportional to the angle. These angles can be read on a measuring gauge of the monitoring device. Electrical signals are uncoupled from the launch mechanism over a connector receptacle. The signals give the following information to the monitoring device:

- switch-on of the external voltage source
- adjacent detection signal
- unlocking of the guided homing head
- following of the target or loss of target
- selected operational procedures
- launch signal.

As the central drive and control unit, the monitoring device permits the control and evaluation of the actions of the trainee by using signal lamps and measuring instruments.

9746

CS0: 2300/405

MIKLOS HARASZTI LASZLO RAJK ON PROBLEMS OF OPPOSITION

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Jul 83 p 12

[Article by Disa Harstad: "Opposition Dilemma: Hungarian Workers Dissatisfied but Full"]

[Text] "Many of us in the opposition have a Marxist background, and we would come forward if important labor groups came to us and asked for help. That indeed happened in Poland where the intellectuals joined the workers. But here in Hungary we dissenters are isolated; the workers have a reluctant admiration for us but it is mixed with anti-intellectualism."

So says Miklos Haraszti, 38, and one of the leading Hungarian opposition personalities, in a conversation with DAGENS NYHETER. He himself was prosecuted ten years ago in the only trial of an author Hungary has had to date--just for taking up the sensitive subject of the situation of the workers. Haraszti, who worked in the tractor factory Red Star in Budapest, concluded that the workers--the exact opposite of the official myth--were exploited and were slaves under the piece-work frenzy which made it impossible for them to follow the safety rules. And no one spoke for them.

The book, "Worker in the Worker State" has been published in many countries but never in Hungary. The case against Haraszti was, however, dropped, and Haraszti ultimately like others in the opposition got a passport and disappeared abroad. However, he is now back, writing books as well as editing the underground periodical BESZELO.

Frightened Workers

"The workers in Hungary are afraid," Miklos Haraszti maintains. "That is the lesson they learned in 1956. They feel they are getting the worst of it but they keep quiet and improve their economic situation. They can moonlight for the new petite bourgeoisie middle class in the underground economy. At times we get letters from workers who propose things for us to do. They are those who in another situation would have a Walesa roll. But today there is food in Hungary and the possibility to work your way up."

The open opposition in Hungary is probably not more than 200 people. That is the government's estimate but they themselves confirm it. On the other hand, the newspaper BESZELO reaches at least 10,000, and it is possible for people who work in the system or at the university to write in it under pseudonyms.

"Consequently, BESZELO is in a way the voice of all intellectuals," Miklos Haraszti says. "And we consider subjects which interest everyone. In addition to questions of human rights and political persecution, only we bring up forgotten stories--both about people and events--and talk about the revolution of 1956.

#### From the Left

The opposition in Hungary has been recruited from the Left. The influence of the philosopher Gyorgy Lukacs has been great; a group of radical sociologists have sought true Marxism.

Haraszti himself comes from the Maoists, who, inspired by the youth in western Europe, existed in Budapest in the 60s.

"At that time such slogans as 'It is right to revolt' and 'Bomb the headquarters' were important to us. But I think that Maoism represented to us the last solidarity with the state and with the idea of the state as such. I myself gave up Maoism when I discovered around 1968 that other systems, such as democracy, could give us what we wanted. When the police attacked us in 1968-70, we realized that it is not in the nature of the Communist system to become democratic. We realized also that we had grown up in a glass house without knowledge about the world.

"Concern for social justice has been strong within the Hungarian opposition throughout the years. Thus, Szeta was recruited, "the group for the defense of the poor." Thus, Laszlo Rajk joined the opposition, when as a qualified, licensed architect, he discovered how socially distorted the building industry was and how little was done for the under-privileged," he informs DAGENS NYHETER.

"Rajk, son of the foreign minister deposed and executed in 1949 Laszlo Rajk, has never been a Marxist," he adds.

#### Harassed

Rajk like Haraszti and others has been harassed by the authorities in recent times. Others have gone abroad with the blessings of the authorities. Still, tolerance of the opposition is much greater than in other people's democracies. In Czechoslovakia many are still in jail. In Rumania and Bulgaria no opposition has been allowed to take shape.

In a report (to a meeting held in Vienna in April about the Helsinki Agreement) the Hungarians have also maintained that no one in their circle has been punished except an artisan who practiced his profession without permission. But there are laws in Hungary which could be applied very severely if the authorities so desired.

One can be fired for protest activity, and it is hard to find another job. A survey has been made regarding those people who in 1979 signed a protest

against the trial in Czechoslovakia of Charter 77 supporters. Forty-six of the protesting Hungarians--some 279 altogether--have been fired, and 25 have not found new work (15 of the people in the survey were, however, pensioners, and 39 self-employed).

Only a third had continued their political activity. But both they and others had encountered obstacles in their subsequent careers (this involved above all those who appeared in public, on the radio or as lecturers at the university). The majority of those who were dismissed and had gotten new jobs had work in positions for which they were over-qualified.

#### Loyal to the Government

It can also be said that to a degree the Hungarian opposition is loyal to the government--when it defends the economic reforms against attacks by the old-fashioned Communists in the party.

Sociologist Ivan Szelenyi, who was imprisoned in 1973 when he together with writer Gyorgy Konrad wrote about "the intellectuals on the way towards class rule," is now invited to lecture to party-bosses in the central committee. Apparently, they have become curious about what he wrote about their roll in a book which could not be published in Hungary.

Szelenyi was able to emigrate--and it is as a Hungarian abroad, resident of the United States, that he now is visiting his old homeland. Konrad did not want to emigrate then but he is at the moment in West Berlin on a scholarship.

Gyorgy Konrad was recently subjected to a sharp attack in the press. Jozsef Palfy, chief editor of the news magazine MACYARORSZAG, criticized Konrad's views that the Yalta Agreement was dangerous to Europe's security. These were the thoughts which Konrad expressed both at the freedom seminar of DAGENS NYHETER in Stockholm in April and at a peace conference in West Berlin in May.

Miklos Haraszti has also been attacked by the party's chief ideologist, Gyorgy Aczel who said that Haraszti "was not an author but someone whose libelous pamphlets are translated into many European languages while Hungarian classics remain untranslated."

Possibly the harassment and attacks serve more as a demarcation of the limits of Hungarian tolerance.

#### The Roll of Youth

It is an open question how the young people think. "Many are interested in history, for example 1956," Haraszti says, but others say that the young people are tired of politics, both the government model and the opposition model, and think that the dissenters have failed.

This is for example what Ferenc Koszegi thinks. He is one of the promoters of Dialog, the new peace group which wants to remain separate from the opposition and cooperate with Hungary's official peace movement.



Koszegi has actually been obliged to hand over the leadership of Dialog to more active individuals after a stormy meeting where he was criticized for his collaborationist line. But he maintains that it is necessary both in principle and as a matter of tactics:

"We wish to recruit young people who are completely non-political, and those who are with us--there are perhaps 500 active participants--are themselves around the age of military service; they are students or school youths. I regard human rights as important but the question of peace is paramount."

The opponents of Koszegi, who have taken over, want to organize peace marches without permission, that is, to break the law. Dialog indeed did not actually succeed in its attempt to act "within the framework" of what is tolerated. Nor have they been allowed to travel to peace meetings in Prague or West Berlin.

"We do not have any set program," Koszegi emphasizes. "We hand out leaflets on atomic weapons, and we favor contacts across the borders."

In regard to DAGENS NYHETER's question as to how they believe Hungarian soldiers should act if they are ordered to invade Poland, he answers:

"That is a very difficult question. In 1968 the Hungarians who did not want to go into Czechoslovakia did not have any place to go, while the United States soldiers in Vietnam could desert."

#### Refusal To Do Military Service

Dialog has not yet taken up the question of refusing to do military service. But refusal to do military service does occur in Hungary. About 100 have been sentenced to 3 years imprisonment, but they prefer that.

It has been largely Jehovah Witnesses and other believers, but now radical Catholics have also joined the ranks of those refusing to serve. The leadership of the Hungarian Church has persuaded the pope to condemn the group--on the grounds that religion is better satisfied in the churches.

People within the opposition have supported those refusing to do military service and have written about them. When DAGENS NYHETER asks where they stand in general in regard to the peace question, Laszlo Rajk answers with words from E.P. Thompson, "No peace without freedom."

6893

CSO: 3650/247

MOZGO VILAG CHIEF EDITOR REMOVED FOR 'DEVIATIONIST' POLICY

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Sep 83 p 7

[Interview with Dezso Toth, deputy minister of culture and education, by Laszlo Zold]

[Text] The deputy minister of education who deals with questions of art and literature gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG on the first of April following the national ideological conference. He urged the need of a continuing debate in cultural life--with a strong Marxist presence--and the solidification of related state direction. At the same time he emphasized that the possible reform must be made within the basic framework of the given intellectual life and without doing damage to it.

[Question] How do you judge these matters now after the April resolution of the Central Committee?

[Answer] In relation to the resolution as a whole, the joint ideological and political responsibility of direction and literary-intellectual life is even more clear. And this is true both in respect to responding to open questions and the restraining of undesirable views.

[Question] How does direction interpret this responsibility in respect to literary life?

[Answer] It turns its attention--informational and orientational--to the literary-cultural journals and the weeklies. These provide a continuous presence for publicistic works, essays, sociographical studies, reports, memoirs--also for certain social sciences--which carry different views of more direct ideological and socio-political interest than the expressly belletristic ones. Thus according to the nature of their profile, emphases, conduct of discussion--and of course their public--they are important expressions and shaping factors in the ideological harmony of literary (and more than literary) life and the relationship of the social picture to socialism.

[Question] I will repeat the question like this: What do you understand, concretely and practically speaking, by the increased ideological and

political responsibility and tasks of the periodicals--their editorial staff--or state direction?

**[Answer]** Above all the consistent guarding of the structure of the discussion conditions which have been developed in the spirit of the federation policy. Most of our periodicals operate according to goals; there are several, however, where it is becoming a question whether it will from its Marxist position also give space to non-Marxist views or whether it will become an organ of the latter and give space to Marxist approaches. This is to be sure, I repeat, not a characteristic but a new phenomenon, and the reason for it in addition to the indecisiveness of direction is the revival of non-Marxist, including undesirable, political views. But the problem is not directly latent in these views because most of them by far have a place and role in public life given their critical Marxist adaptation. A profile distortion that proceeds step by step is primarily injurious to the structural-operational principle of cultural policy as appropriate to the general policy which along with and by virtue of the profile-determining role and hegemony of Marxism assures a place in the debate for other political views that are not hostile. In this field a compromise of whatever permanence and augmentation means that the debatable views may acquire their "own" organs, and the conditions of a presence and influence exceeding their importance and role. Such a grouping--regardless of intention--would sooner or later map out and institutionally represent its own political platform. In the end a politically pluralized literary life would face, on a people's front basis, a society organized under the banner of a federation policy.

**[Question]** Where do you believe such "distortions" are evident and what do you discern in more detail as their signs?

**[Answer]** Unfortunately the above-mentioned "duality" has become in recent years more and more characteristic of the ideological-political profile of MOZGO VILAG. In one conversation, of course, we cannot expound on this, at best we can only summarize. The useful lessons in the MOZGO VILAG articles that expose reality are forced more and more into the background by their pessimistically distortive and dismantling effect. With a mistaken interpretation of the situation and an illusory judgment of conditions, the susceptibility for the new and the rightful reform demand for action readiness runs over into reform demagoguery or into the suggestion of a complete breakdown or incapacity for action, while the tone of justified social criticism alternates with the stirring of distrust and the arousal of a public mood with nasty remarks. The whole social picture of the periodical is one-sided; it does not make use of the facts of achieved historical results; the actual values and given possibilities of socialism play a subordinate role in the search for a solution to the known and established difficulties, and the resources and international interests of belonging to the socialist camp are not taken into account. This depressed dissatisfaction seeks for a suitable starting point in the review of certain problems of our history between the two world wars and the liberation, or it actualizes even earlier historical phases and efforts with a similar goal--opposition to the creditable, increasingly more nuanced Marxist judgments. It presumes to build the unity of Hungarian-language literature by eliminating the class outlook, or in some

cases with the "justification" of nationalist views. In embracing artistic modernity and experimentation, however, it opens a wide scope to extreme--sometimes dilettante--styles at the expense of the humanistic role of art and without any critical outlook at all. The sum of these phenomena attests that the Marxist editorial representation has been forced into the background and points to an ideological change in the cultural political role of the periodical. This is why the state direction was forced to release Comrade Ferenc Kulin from his position as chief editor.

Question Even in relation to what you have described, the decision is a serious and surprising one which some will obviously regard as intervention in literary life. Will not many see this as a limitation on the free presence of views, a tightening of the possibilities for error, in a word "recentralization" of cultural policy and the tightening of its methods?

Answer I believe that here we are "only" speaking of assuring and consistently realizing the continuity of the basic principles and methods which have existed thus far. The decisions could not have come as a surprise to the editor and the editorial office. Two years ago with patience and principle, the direction expressed--in narrow circles and in exchanges of views within bodies--its corrective observations in a comradely, friendly tone and always in a helpful and reasoning way--but unfortunately without results. It is true that at times of difficult and open questions the possibility of error is greater, but it is also true that there is a difference between errors and the "losing of its way" by a periodical over a long period of time despite admonishments. Now too, "patience has not become exhausted," it has merely become obvious that further patience could be realized only at the cost of the principles. Even if the decision affected someone personally, it was not a decision against a person. Ferenc Kulin is a talented literary historian and critic, we count on him to continue playing a role in public life, and some of his disputable views are unacceptable only in relation to his tasks as chief editor. From what has been said it is also clear that the measure was directed not against the presence of certain debatable views but against their organized publication. To put it more precisely, the measure was taken in the interest of securing a structural development--and at the same time editorial--principle which for more than a quarter of a century has stimulated with adequate flexibility the artistic and attitudinal variety of literary life and the constructive liveliness of its discussions.

Question And what about the "intervention" in literary life?

Answer Let us not forget that the chief editors, the members of the editorial bodies are in the closest kind of contact with the everyday efforts of literary-cultural life, they are cultural-political holders of posts who work with resolution and a voluntarily undertaken sense of responsibility. Even considering the far-reaching characteristics of their tasks, they are subject to state discipline. In the given case the duty of the MOZGO VILAG chief editor was to realize over the long run the program approved by cultural direction and published in the periodical. In case of a difference between the two, even a contradiction, the state direction had the right and the obligation to dissolve the "contract" in the figurative and narrow sense. This is



not "recentralization" but the observance and maintenance of the principle of independence and responsibility by the work places.

Question What will be the fate of MOZGO VILAG?

Answer Ferenc Kulin's assignment as chief editor will be terminated in effect on 1 October, and legally it will expire at the end of the year. It is the task of the direction to appoint as soon as possible a chief editor who will undertake the realization of the original program--or another program that can be supported as cultural policy, considering the characteristic role of MOZGO VILAG. Until this occurs the deputy chief editor with the support of the copy editor will conduct the periodical's affairs. Because of the long turn-over period several issues will still appear under the name of Ferenc Kulin; publication continuity will not be interrupted.

Question Throughout we have talked of MOZGO VILAG. Will we have to reckon with the possibility that in the near future similar measures will have to be taken at other periodicals?

Answer Only if justified by evidence and if every other means of influence and method was proved permanently unsuccessful.

6691

CSO: 2500/1

REFORMED CHURCH PAPER DEFENDS BILLY GRAHAM'S 'OSTPOLITIK'

Budapest REFORMATUSOK LAPJA in Hungarian 11 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Karoly Prohle: "The World Conference of Evangelists; Amsterdam '83"]

[Text] The International Conference for Itinerant Evangelists, which began on 12 July at the enormous assembly hall of the Amsterdam conference center, opened with a ceremonious parade of the flags of 134 countries. The idea, sponsored by Billy Graham the world famous evangelist who is also well-known in our country, was to call a 10-day conference of "itinerant" evangelists from every corner of the world, i.e. evangelists whose evangelical work is not limited to a particular congregation but is spread over a certain area, often even transcending church and denominational boundaries. His aim was to present the "army of evangelization" before God as a single body of brotherly fellowship, so that inspired by this great fellowship evangelists struggling to overcome various external and internal problems could renew their faith, find strength to face the new tasks and possibilities of today's world and go away with a new vision to "perform the work of evangelists" (2 Tim 4,5). The response to the conference invitation extended by Billy Graham and his co-workers exceeded all expectations. While originally only 2,500 people had been expected to attend, almost 4,000 people signed up and the number of people actually present exceeded 5,000.

Recently Billy Graham has been in the crossfire of some harsh attacks for his unequivocal position on establishing relations with the Eastern European churches and on the question of peace. At the conference, starting with his opening speech, he continued to advocate his basic position with admirable sincerity. He emphasized that the work program of the church had to give definite priority to evangelization as defined in its biblical sense, according to which "the whole church must preach the whole of Christ to the whole world." He left no doubt, however, that according to this biblical interpretation evangelization and social service are closely interconnected. "These two--he said--go hand-in-hand and once we have walked through the narrow gate we are on the road of service. We must take a stand and must stand our ground on social and moral questions." This, in his view, today also includes the peace service. It was with this conviction that he had decided to establish relations with the churches and secular leaders of the socialist countries. One of his untiring co-workers in this effort has been

Dr Sandor Haraszti, the physician and minister who some 30 years ago had gone to America wanting to become a physician-missionary; his hopes however, were not fulfilled and now as an adviser to Billy Graham he has been working on establishing ties with Eastern Europe. We were especially delighted to see that in addition to the 5 Hungarian participants--Janos Laczovszki, vice-president of the free church, Janos Viczian, general secretary of the free church, and professors Dr Pal Bolberitz of the Roman Catholic Church, Dr Tibor Bartha Jr of the Reformed Church and Dr Karoly Prohle--the 55-member combined choir of the Baptist Church had also been invited to the conference for a few days. The enthusiastic singing ensemble received general acclaim for its high-quality performance, and its conduct, which was a reflection of the purity of the Christian faith, captured the hearts of its listeners.

The conference was under firm and resolute direction. It brought the discipline of the Holy Spirit into full display. The more than 30 presentations delivered at the plenary session were followed by over 100 reports in the working groups. These encompassed a rather broad range of personal, contextual and methodological questions pertaining to evangelization. The presentations of the evangelist speakers were all dynamically--read! Rather than trying to improvise, they had prepared thoroughly in writing. Their main theses were reread so that they could be written down. Billy Graham is convinced that faith shaped by the Holy Spirit should be accompanied by the highest degree of consciousness. The evangelist must be fully conscious of the fact that he is a messenger of God. He must understand that the message he is to convey is the one about Christ, more specifically the one about the absolution he received on the cross. He must have a thorough understanding of the person or persons to whom he is speaking.

He must be familiar with and be able to use the modern methods and possibilities of transmitting messages, i.e. of communication. But he must be equally aware that only God's Holy Spirit can awaken faith, hence he must be a praying man. He must also understand that as an evangelist he is committed to the church and therefore he cannot be an individualist in his work or start clandestine movements: he must preach the gospel sincerely, and his work should be aimed at strengthening the local organized congregation and the unified church.

This new undertaking by Billy Graham was a beneficial and blessed one, for it was an effort to redirect the camp of excess-prone evangelists toward evangelism and the church. This discipline, however, did not suppress the Holy Spirit; in fact, the following statement taken from the closing testimony is an indication of a collective experience: "We thank God for sending his Holy Spirit upon us while we were together in the name of Jesus. The Lord himself was among us so that he could teach us through his servants, enliven us with his Spirit and revive us with his Word."

FAILURE OF ENTERPRISE REFORM--MORALE, ETHICS AT NEW LOW

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 9, Sep 83 pp 60-66

[Article by Sandor Erdelyi: "The Incomprehensibility of Good Soldier II and the Reform"]

[Text] Any discussion of Hungary's economic and political situation with a Hungarian or foreigner will necessarily come sooner or later to the delicate balance that developed after 1956 and is characteristic of Hungarian society. The Hungarian economic reform is considered very significant from the viewpoint of the preservation and further development of this balance. Reform and balance . . . . The question now is the following: How does the world of small business fit into the reform, and will this world help or hamper maintenance of this delicate balance that is regarded so important?

The good soldier still remembers that when the economic reform was introduced, and for some time thereafter, there was no mention of the now fashionable forms of entrepreneurship and business activity. This of course does not mean anything, and the need for them still could have arisen. But the question is whether their appearance logically follows from the reform, or does it conceal something else?

It seems practically obvious that the question of small businesses cannot be divorced from the reform's more general questions. But actually how is the reform proceeding? I am able to speak of this only from my view from below, as my situation dictates. And on the basis of what information I have.

In my opinion, a reform can be judged on the basis of its final results. Let us examine perhaps the most important ones. (1) The reform has been unable to win the battle for the efficiency of live labor. Parallel with a manpower shortage generally characteristic of the country, our terms of trade have been worsening continuously during the past ten years, and this worsening is still not over, which means that our products are depreciating on the world market. (Naturally this process is taking place within the framework of a large-scale rearrangement that is affecting the entire world, but it is still continuing.) (2) During the 15 years of economic reform, our balance of trade and balance of payments have mostly shown deficits: year after year we have been consuming more than we have been producing, and we have accumulated a total debt that makes any further steps toward reform questionable because resources are lacking for the realization of even the most urgent changes. On the basis of



the preceding, then, we are hardly able to speak of the reform's resounding success. For the sake of clarity it should be noted that a perceptible improvement in our balance of payments occurred when a series of administrative, hence antireform, measures was introduced in Hungary after 1978. (3) The structural change that is absolutely essential from the viewpoint of our ability to compete on the world market has not occurred. Regardless of which characteristic indicator we take, from the specific material- and energy-intensity of the products to the products' average age, we are not in a significantly better situation than before the start of the reform. (The question arises, of course, to what extent this can be attributed to the reform's curtailment after 1973.) (4) No meaningful progress has been made in the differentiation of either enterprise or personal incomes.

I will not continue further. The picture is not too encouraging. There is of course the question of how much greater trouble we would be in without the reform. There are several and not too distant examples on the basis of which we may safely say: much greater. But this still leaves another question unanswered: How much better off would we be had we consistently carried out everything we decided to do? Many things can be excused and explained by referring to the more rigorous external conditions. But not everything. It is worth investigating the contradictions and consequences that existed--regrettably, they still exist even today--independently of the changes in the external conditions, and thanks to which our reform is not what it should be. Because, in my opinion, this is our main problem. And an interesting question is: What can small businesses do, jointly and severally, to resolve this problem, especially the small businesses functioning within enterprises? Where is the point or phase at which they can switch in, to improve or worsen?

And where actually has the Hungarian economic reform halted? Figuratively, at the gates of the Hungarian factories and economic units. The reform placed a foot through the gate but then drew it back. Because it was either pulled back from the outside or pushed out from the inside. It has been unable to get both feet past the gate.

And why has the reform stopped at the factory gate? Simply because the social effects did not stop at the gate the way they should have, or they did not pass through in a permissible manner. If we examine whether the managers within the gates--who allegedly have "one-man responsibility," "suitable independence," "form their action programs independently, with due consideration for normative regulation," etc.--really have some influence on the course of events or remain mostly string puppets even today, the picture we get is very mixed and contradictory.

As to why the reform halted at the factory gate. Around 1968 the changes essential to the reform's rapid success were proceeding at a rate such that would have bordered on qualitative, and hence revolutionary, changes. And the reform was truly a reform. It was limited to the economy (although even there it did not claim to be complete), and in practice it left untouched the other areas of Hungarian social and political life, its entire system of institutions, cadres, style, etc. Not only were there no revolutionary changes here at the time of the reform's introduction, but even minimal reforms had not occurred. This is interesting because in the case of the economic units of every

socialist country, and hence also in Hungary, determination stemming from areas and spheres of sociopolitical life other than the economy is much stronger than on average in the world and sometimes outgrows strictly economic determination.

For the country and the enterprises there developed a "quasi-reform," "simulated reform," etc., an eclectic mixture in which everything yet nothing was true. Which invented the most ingeniously immoral word, the "expectation" at the given stage of socialism's construction. The moral content of this word could be compared to the situation when a person is attempting with enormous effort to catch two snakes in a bucket of apricot jam.

For what is expectation? Legal cause enabling any organ or institution of any significance, a central agency, etc., to assert its will, its viewpoints and good or bad ideas, without even minimal personal, institutional, moral or human cost. But note that the expecting organ does not order (it does not even have the right to issue orders, which incidentally would also mean the assumption of accountability for any order issued) and does not advise (advice is heard, and then either heeded or disregarded), for the expecting organ's prestige has not sunk low enough for any doubt to arise as to whether its advice must be heeded unconditionally. The expecting organ "expects." But if its "expectation" is not fulfilled, then through other channels this organ strikes back so fiercely that the economic unit not fulfilling the expectation, and its managers in particular, lose all 32 teeth. But if they fulfill the "expectation" and then some disaster occurs, then the "expecting" organ modestly remains in the background and announces: it merely gave advice, but now in retrospect it is clearly evident that the advice was not entirely sound because the economic unit's managers had not supplied correct information. Had the correct information been available, then of course the "expectation" would have been different and "the comrades would unquestionably have avoided" the present sorry mess.

But of course you should not feel sorry for those down below, the enterprise managers. They too quickly recognized the system's advantages. The system can best be characterized by the absence of an objective yardstick. Enterprise managers recognized with lightning speed that the evolving situation enabled them to pass on responsibility, just as the command-directed economic system had. With tacit agreement there developed a system under which the economic unit, in deadly earnest and clicking its heels, pretends to accept an expectation as a command, and in return the expecting organ is willing to lend its prestige and rank within society to hallmark as an "expectation" some request or other of the economic unit, a request that stems solely from the economic unit's interest and cannot be said to be in any way in the public interest. And such minor things as economic efficiency and macroeconomic profitability practically become of secondary importance.

Actually this whole fuss was second-best action that for more than 10 years substituted for real reform that is needed inside the factory gate in the production of material goods. If the management of the factory or enterprise is able to arrange for financial resources by one order of magnitude greater, in a quiet office outside the factory gate, it will not don overalls to go and see what the situation is really like down there. (Not to mention the fact that a person's social prestige depends also on whom he contacts, or who contacts him.) It sounds quite differently if in the evening at home or among

friends a person is able to say "I dropped in on deputy minister Laci X to arrange for a few lousy preferences," rather than sigh and say "I spent four days investigating what the hell has caused another 1.5-million increase in our inventories. My partners were the plant managers, the manager of materials procurement and his executives, and the chief of storage and handling."

Such a management will hardly adopt, in behalf of long-term development and in accordance with the interests of society as a whole, a decision to increase during the next few years the incomes of the severely underpaid technical personnel at a substantially faster rate than the incomes of other groups, when the "expectation" is that management treat preferentially the development of the blue-collar workers' living and working conditions. Well, management is treating them preferentially and is watching the situation that has developed one way or another. It will consider the situation of the technical personnel five years from now when that will be the "expectation," locking the stable door after the horse has been stolen. Such a management will hardly bother to come out with new products on the world market when it has the good old domestic and socialist markets that are not demanding because of shortages. Why should it risk a punch in the nose because the exported products are of obsolete design and useless? When deputy minister Laci X could hardly be blamed for that punch in the nose, and a bit of self-criticism would be required? Life would force its way through the factory gate, and the reform would sneak in behind it, bringing with it the new songs of the new era. Songs in different tunes and with different voices, about hard work, discipline, painful decisions, sacrifices and inconveniences. It would be necessary to replace one of the technical managers who, despite repeated warnings, still has not acquired a diploma but in the meantime has reached the protected age bracket. And it would be necessary to liquidate the network of functionaries who actually have become exempt in their fictitious positions, because they are no longer satisfied with the fact that their own activity is merely self-administration and does not contribute anything toward the production of material goods (and it does not contribute even to peace and quiet, because often they themselves, overawed by their own self-importance, are causing unrest); instead they are holding up also others in their work, worsening labor productivity further and diverting time and energy from real activity. We are not attacking them. We know their real power spreading through the invisible lymphatic system (and also the trouble they can cause); and instead of liquidating the fictitious positions, we are approving also the hiring of secretaries for them.

We would have to agree with the three young mechanical engineers who quit after a year because they had not been assigned any meaningful work and had not even received their job descriptions. But then we would also have to take disciplinary action against their boss who is also secretary of the trade-union committee. However, disciplinary action can be instituted against him only with the permission of the central trade-union organs. Such permission would either be refused or it would be granted after two months, by when the three young engineers would have left anyhow. Furthermore, a hord of investigators would immediately fall on the enterprise to determine, in all seriousness and in their full sense of responsibility (as voluntary work on paid time), the cause of the worsening of relations between the enterprise's management and the trade-union leadership. At our enterprise that has been



characterized by harmony. In addition, the trade-union secretary, being the type he is, would stand up at the next membership meeting and, protesting the unwarranted attack against him, would say that he would gladly give job descriptions, a program, anything, if he only knew approximately the enterprise's long-range tasks. And that it would be good if higher management finally formulated these tasks. What could you reply to this? That the director is not afraid of the hard work this would involve, but he simply does not see clearly and does not have sufficient information! Because then the trade-union secretary would continue the polemic and note sarcastically that this is practically a miracle. When the comrade director parachuted into the enterprise six years ago, the trade-union secretary--having worked for over 20 years within the apparatus--reassured anyone with misgivings that being well-informed and a system of high contacts more than compensated for a lack of professional knowledge. No, it is horrible even to contemplate what will happen if these new songs begin to be heard here. For all this would be merely the beginning. So far not one word has been said about real activity, about the work that the harsher conditions require. Thus it is better to swim with the tide and accept the conditions dictated by the tacit agreement. Live and let live. Let us not admit the economic reform through the factory gate for it will only cause an enormous amount of trouble and personal conflicts that cannot be passed on to others.

I think the prayer wheel of our words could spin endlessly to describe the reluctance, the "one step ahead and two steps back" (i.e. the other way around) in the matter of reform. And because no meaningful change occurred during the period of "expectation," next to the "forgotten decade" after the battle of Mohacs there has now been inscribed in our history also a "decade of expecting."

Regrettably, during the "decade of expecting" Hungarian society lost more than it should have of the potential advantage it had gained by the late 1960's and early 1970's from the pains of 1956. While during the decade of expecting the change in Hungarian society's system of values accelerated incredibly, with a vector pointing away from the collective toward the individual. While all those who were involved in that the new economic mechanism was soul-killingly marking time became practically exhausted.

The faint hope that attrition would remove the traditional team of top managers who had done their duty under different circumstances, and that they would be replaced by younger managers passionately committed to change, floundered on the loyalty hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, most of the upper managers selected at that time, the bulk of the replacements, remained upward oriented even after their appointment, and past the age of 45 generally (with due respect for the exceptions) did not want anything other than to conform to the hierarchy to which they owed their top positions that they were determined to retain. As the highest local managers, they accept the system of "expectations," thereby forcing it also on their perhaps more ambitious subordinates. Those who (mostly as subordinates) want more than this are practically powerless, or their room for movement is so narrow that they are able to influence matters only through a series of constantly erupting conflicts, the final outcome of which is determined by either their blind luck or perhaps far more by their reputation within "competent circles," but not in any case



by the interest of society as a whole. (If their luck runs out, a massive coronary suspends the series of conflicts when the score is tied at zero.)

We have lone knights even at this cost. Our deployable cavalry brigade is small (the larger social groups appraise more realistically what is worth trying). Or at least our brigade is substantially smaller than what would have been necessary to decide the stalemate that developed by about 1980. When the two invisible and undefined camps seemed to have concluded that neither can beat the other. The more so because they had also run out of ammunition by 1980. Not one or the other, but both. The nation's ammunition became exhausted. In addition, the birds of prey also began to die. These two things together were a bit too much.

For an old peasant once defined very serious trouble in conjunction with environmental pollution as the state in which the birds of prey in the area were beginning to die out. They act as the end station for every pollution, violation, poisoning, omission and neglect. The end station beyond which there is nowhere to go. The trouble in conjunction with the visible and the deep-lying pollution of a socialist country's society, with the omissions and neglected measures, is at least as great when in the declared age of scientific and technological revolution we reach the point where applicants for admission to the first year of engineering schools are far fewer than what the admission quotas would allow. Indicating thereby how deep the prestige of technical intellectuals has sunk by the end of the decade of expecting. Together with the prestige of industry that supports the majority of the people on this earth (be the results in agriculture ever so spectacular). This is true particularly in our age, the age of intensified development, the age in which innovation has become decisive. The economic reform cannot be led to victory without the technical intellectuals. They are the reform's commanding staff. That was the point at which, with economic perspicuity more or less tolerated and developed, General Reform was left in a stalemate, with demoralized commanding officers and without ammunition. And yet this was a stalemate in which there was growing realization that the reform had to be continued, even if we were weak to do so and could not grow up in the meantime to meet the reform's requirements.

However, we did develop much, and the past period has not disappeared without trace. The "water settled" in thinking, concepts gained new interpretations and acceptance, and the mass media launched a new attack to give the country's citizens a more realistic view of themselves, and especially of our economic objectives and possibilities (even though more limited). The approach (personnel, training and methods) of the various managing apparatuses has changed immensely, and occasionally also the necessary radical organizational changes have been made. The supreme leadership also seems more united and determined to carry out the reform consistently (under greater compulsion, of course) than it was ten and some odd years ago. Everything that I have written about the reform so far seems to lead up to, and to justify in advance, the need and urgency of establishing various small businesses. For small businesses offer seemingly better solutions to numerous, as yet unresolved, contradictions raised by the reform, such as determination of optimal plant size, the greater efficiency of smaller and more flexible organizations not encumbered by bloated bureaucracy, more say for the workers in the management of their own affairs, faster response--in the final outcome, more economical production at less cost, etc.

Then what is the good soldier griping about? Actually he has two main gripes. First, because the economic reform has not been carried out consistently, all the results, computations and assessments in conjunction with small businesses are based on very dangerous assumptions. Secondly, promulgation of the new forms of small businesses at the present time is substitute action that creates the false appearance of motion on the surface, while everything remains still underneath; it reassures and lulls us into believing that we have at least done something, whereas we have acted in this way merely to avoid having to admit possible obvious defeat, without considering to what dangers we have exposed ourselves thereby. Perhaps it is more appropriate to speak of partial action, instead of substitute action, when discussing the new initiatives within the sphere of large enterprises.

Hypothesis: Small businesses operate at social inputs much closer to the optimum, at less cost and with greater efficiency than the industrial enterprises.

Well, much could be said about input costs, or more accurately about the way in which they are administered. (Incidentally and only very softly, I would like to note that in a significant proportion of the cases the bookkeeping of the large enterprises is unable to show the actual partial inputs of either the enterprises themselves or of their EBWP's [enterprise business work partnerships]. Which of course is true independently of the EBWP's as well.) All I can do is to reiterate: it is economically impossible to remain competitive with the same product at three times higher wages. And with this we have already arrived at the essence: competition.

And I do not believe that any computation can approximate the optimum social input. Only honest and correct competition can approximate this optimum. But not the way we are doing it today. Before the pistol shot marking the start of the 100-meter race is fired, we clamp a few iron balls and chains--called wage regulation, wage brake, etc.--to one leg, and perhaps both legs, of the directors of state enterprises, and then with a sweet smile we encourage them: Come on, boys; come on, top managers of socialist industry! The eyes of the world are upon you! And when it is not they who win the race, we see our hypothesis confirmed: the small businesses are more viable. The fact is that work performed after regular hours is not paid from the wage fund but is charged to cost. (And from these earnings it is necessary to pay taxes, which involves a considerable amount of paperwork, very many people and organs.) The deception and self-delusion lie specifically here. From the viewpoint of society, this is outflow of purchasing power, no matter what we call it. If somewhere, at some large plant and for some purpose, society cannot (or on the basis of misinterpreted social-policy considerations does not want to) pay overtime because overtime does not fit into the framework provided by wage regulation "that is an integral part of the system of regulation now in force," or into the general political picture, then how can society do practically the same thing in the guise of an EBWP? Mostly at twice the price. Will this make the work in question profitable? Will the world market honor the EBWP label in its prices and be willing to pay for products made in this manner? I am a fairly regular watcher of the world market's quotations and price movements. Fantasies are not a factor there. What we are doing is simply this: (1) We are tacitly and de facto abandoning some sociopolitical hypothesis of ours that up to now has been regarded as tabu. And (2) we are admitting that our present wage and income regulation is unsuitable.

But if wage and income regulation is unsuitable after regular hours, it is unsuitable also during regular hours. Then should we not be considered with the unsuitability of wage and income regulation during regular working hours and try to do something along this "main path"? Here the optimum social input as a proven hypothesis can come into consideration only if in the management of income, which is the most decisive, the managers of industrial plants are given the same opportunities as the EBWP's and business associations. It seems preposterous to employ reform-inspired and hence performance-based remuneration in one sector of the economy, and wage-level regulation closer to the command-directed economy in another sector, and then to begin evaluating the final result.

Substitute or real action? Approaching the end of this writing, it is here that I find the biggest problem, the one whose effects will be felt the longest, although the problem itself will be the last to become evident. Since within large-scale state industry the reform could not win a decisive victory, being unable for the time being to reform in accordance with present-day requirements also the social and political setting about which so much has been said in this essay, it retreated, mistakenly reordered its priorities, and what it has de facto achieved with small businesses is nothing other than substitute or partial action, creating the appearance of motion over a practically stationary depth.

The fact that we preferred to legalize small businesses within large enterprises, the EBWP's and the devil knows what else--instead of improving at least slightly the situation and incentives of the technical intellectuals, for example, before rehabilitating meaningfully and not just in principle the creative work within state industry that produces real results, etc.--can be termed perhaps one of the most serious mistake we could ever have committed. Another such mistake is in itself the mistaken reordering of priorities. Because we have given blank authorization, a moral safe conduct to everyone (even forcing him to distort his system of social values) who turns his back on toil or creative work within state industry, who as a young person makes a course correction in his career (but the most urgently), to land as far as possible from socialist large-scale industry, and as close as possible to secondary industry. With cosmic speed we have begun to separate from each other capital that has a socialist filling or is of a socialist nature on the one hand, and talent on the other, failing to understand that regardless of what social system we have, its efficiency can stem only from the optimal amalgam of social capital and talent. It does not matter that there are and will be small businesses in some areas also in our country. That is an objective necessity. The trouble would be, let us admit frankly, if socialist Hungary were to offer no alternative other than the secondary economy, secondary distribution and small businesses to its citizens of above-average talent, ambition and mobility who want to earn above-average incomes for themselves. In other words: anything but socialist industry, God forbid? And no opportunity for those who want to achieve something without the support of rich parents? This further undermines our already deteriorating system of values. For example, how can our society expect proper orientation, in the direction of the interest of society as a whole, of those young people who are sitting in the momentarily still filled seats of our technical colleges, when for the solution of their pressing problems (housing, secure livelihood, etc.) it provides opportunity in all areas except socialist



industry, as this can be demonstrated by means of the four basic operations? There can be no doubt as to which direction they will be choosing. We are hampering the reform's further progress by mistakenly reordering our priorities, by resorting to substitute action as an unfortunate safety valve. If General Reform only had demoralized commanding officers in 1980, the chances today and tomorrow are good that he will soon be left with no commanding officers at all. For the "safety valve," from the individual's point of view, offers much faster success. It admits or lets through the stratum of leading technical or other intellectuals who have above-average talent and ambitions, and who want more and better things, into the area of all kinds of businesses, or perhaps of machinations related to such businesses. With its accumulated knowledge and tension, this stratum could become the potential driving force behind the reform's continuation, and I hope it will. It does not seem to be sufficiently clear as yet that the essential changes in Hungary's socialist large-scale industry require not only perception, external pressure, and resolutions that are wise or mostly boring repetitions of generalities, but also cadres in whom the desire for change is combined with the talent and knowledge necessary to make the changes. The mistaken reordering of priorities blew up these cadres. We might also say that in this way the reform has lost its revolutionary base. The already existing counterselection can be expected to intensify and acquire additional features.

I wish to reiterate that in this the individual cannot be blamed! For the individual--be he engineer, technician, economist, or blue-collar worker of ability well above the average--the socialist sector offers only the lukewarm average (plus 20 percent) and the safety net of expectations, while other officially recognized areas can offer as much as plus 200 percent, legally and at much greater freedom in his work. The end result of this counterselection could be fairly dismal. In numerous capitalist countries throughout the world it has led to the theory and practice of reprivatizing state industry, as this can hardly be denied on the basis of the facts and statistics. I do not even dare to say this out loud, but the same idea could occur also in our socialist heads. I hope we will not live to see our reaching the vicious circle in which we will be forced to support small businesses and the private sector, so that there will be someone to support a state industry artificially (and this should be emphasized) drained of its brains. If we do not want this, then we have no other choice than to draw the most urgently the necessary conclusions. Not to retract the promulgated decrees and not to liquidate the small businesses, but simply to provide also for the management and technical intellectuals in Hungarian socialist industry a freedom of movement, system of incentives, and income opportunities approximating the level of those in small businesses; in other words, regulation that equally meets the requirements of our time. (Note that I said income opportunities, and not guaranteed income.)

To put it more plainly, the reform must be continued also in Hungary's socialist large-scale industry, to the extent this is feasible. But to this end it is necessary to clarify unambiguously the reform's present possibilities. We must determine what we have temporarily lost during the decade of expecting, and where have our possibilities narrowed to such an extent that temporarily it is extremely difficult to speak of real reform. And in the area left after honest clarification, we must consistently continue the reform, until it can again be extended to every area of Hungary's economy. (We must not commit the



mistake of driving the reform's remaining forces onto minefields for whose clearing we lack both mine-detecting and mine-sweeping equipment. For this would result in further bloodshed among the forces of reform, and the discrediting of the entire reform itself.) The aforementioned unambiguity must then apply to all types of small business, as well as to the cooperative sector and to large-scale state industry. For a business or enterprise of any type or size, whether small or big, can exist normally only within the economic and social environment defined by the reform and gradually made increasingly homogeneous.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 5 Sep 83 pp 1,2

Biala Podlaska Plenum

[Article by (s.w.): "Assessment of the Party's Performance in Alleviating the Consequences of the Crisis: Plenum of the Biala Podlaska Province PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] / (OW INFORMATION.) The Plenum of the Biala Podlaska Province PZPR Committee held on 2 September 1983 evaluated the implementation of socio-economic tasks and the province party organization's activities to alleviate the consequences of the crisis./

The deliberations, chaired by Czeslaw Staszczak, first secretary of the PZPP Province Committee, were attended by Janusz Obodowski, deputy premier, chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers; Ludwik Ochocki, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission; and Stanislaw Szczepanski, deputy minister of agriculture and food management. The report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee was presented by Andrzej Szot, secretary of the Province Committee.

Recalling that 10 months ago the PZPR Province Committee Plenum had discussed the initiatives of the province party organization for alleviating the consequences of the crisis, it was stated that since then the vexations of daily life have been somewhat assuaged for the province's population. But it cannot be said that all the problems have been solved and people live as they used to, say, years ago.

Assessing the implementation of the initiatives for alleviating the consequences of the crisis, it is worthwhile--as the report stresses--to consider the situation of the province's economy and especially to show how has it changed since last year.

For example, sales of industrial output have not improved and have even dropped 2 percent compared with 1981. The basic output of construction and installation enterprises was about 12 percent lower (compared with the nationwide average decline of more than 5 percent), but even so 706 dwellings or about 76 percent more than in 1981, have been released for occupancy. On the other hand, sales of goods by socialized retail trade outlets have increased by 81 percent (compared with a nationwide average increase of more than 78 percent) since last year.

The situation in agriculture has varied. Compared with 1981, livestock procurements were 30 percent higher in terms of meat tonnage (compared with a nationwide average increase of barely 0.4 percent) and milk procurement, nearly 5 percent higher (compared with a nationwide average increase of only 0.6 percent), but crop procurements were low: barely 18,000 tons of grain and 82 tons of potatoes were procured during the first half of 1982.

This year a definite upward trend arose in both industry and agriculture. Thus, during the first 7 months of this year sales of the products of enterprises of the socialized industry increased 11 percent compared with a like period last year (and with a nationwide average increase of 8 percent). Industrial employment dropped by 1 percent and, as a result, the value of the sales of industrial output increased by 13 percent per worker. Average wages were at the level of 12,200 zlotys monthly or 33 percent higher than in a like period last year.

Basic output of construction increased by 29 percent (the nationwide increase averaged 19 percent). During the first 7 months of this year, 348 dwellings were released for occupancy in Biala Podlaska Province: this is about 76 percent more than in a like period last year (the nationwide average increase was 15 percent).

It is difficult to assess the situation in trade, but it can be stated that greater supplies of clothing for children up to 15 years old, underwear, kitchen furniture, woolen and wool-like fabrics and footwear are reaching the market.

As regards agriculture, no progress was recorded in livestock procurements, which during the first 7 months of this year decreased some 11 percent compared with a like period last year, but milk procurements increased by 123 percent. By 31 August of this year 38,000 tons of grain have been procured, which means that the yearly target has been fulfilled 85 percent so far. An agricultural census conducted last June indicated a decline in the livestock population--excepting sheep.

The effects achieved in industry this year are--it was stressed--due to the self-sacrificing efforts of the workforces of labor establishments. Only some of the enterprises of the socialized sector failed--often owing to objective reasons--to maintain their last year's level of production.

Developing production for exports is an important factor in overcoming the economic crisis. Biala Podlaska Province has scored major accomplishments in this respect. Altogether, during the first half of this year, production for exports increased by 67 percent compared with a like period last year.

It is worth noting that during the first half of this year personal incomes in the province were 23 percent higher than in a like period last year and reached 18,270 million zlotys. At the same time the price increases have

resulted in raising the cost of living--by 30 percent in worker families, by 33 percent in peasant families and by 28 percent for pensioners.

It was stressed, however, that not everyone is equally affected by the economic crisis. The least affected individuals are a large group of speculators, tradesmen and dishonest artisans. The new package of tax regulations will of a certainty result in reducing the incomes of individuals who are enriching themselves excessively.

The progressing stabilization and normalization of life causes growing trust in the party and its activities. Party echelons at various levels are recording an increase in the number of applicants. For example, during the second half of this year 207 persons, or 182 percent more than a year ago, have applied for help to the Biala Podlaska PZPR Province Committee. Both direct interventions and letters from the population are important sources of information about the problems of the province's inhabitants. Another important source is the meetings of representatives of the party and administration with the workforces of labor establishments. Knowledge of daily vexations and annoyances helps eliminate various shortcomings and problems. This, too, is a way of alleviating the irritations of everyday life.

The present period is closely linked to preparations for the fall-winter season. This concerns, among other things, the harvesting of potatoes and the accumulation of stockpiles of food for the winter in behalf of the plant workforces, the preparation of sources of heat, the creation of an appropriate front of construction operations, etc. It is a task of party echelons and organizations to monitor these sectors of the economy so that they may properly implement their duties, as well as to inspire and translate into reality new initiatives.

The participants in the discussion were: Jan Ignatowicz, veterinary physician of Parczew; Stanislaw Boratynski, pensioner of Miedrzyszec; Tadeusz Chrominski, director of the Sarnaki Fruit and Vegetable Processing Plant (ZPOW); Marian Juchimiuk, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the BIAWENA Wool Industry Plants (ZPW); Jozef Siof, director of the Biala Furniture Factory (BFM); Stanislaw Rapa, governor of Biala Podlaska Province; Zbigniew Falkowski, forester at the Radzyn Forestry District; Wlodzimierz Adamiec, director of the Malaszewice DRP [expansion unknown]; Jan Jesionowski, member of the Province Party Control Commission (WKKP); Lucjan Wietraszuk, secretary of the basic party organization (POP) at the Customs Office in Terespol; Slawomir Orzechowski, farmer of Terespol Gmina Parish; Mieczyslaw Romanowicz, farmer of Ciemierniki Gmina; Franciszek Hornowski, farmer of Huszlew Gmina; Stanislaw Szczepanski, minister of agriculture; Tadeusz Kochanowski, secretary, Province Branch of the Chief Technical Organization (NOT); Stanislaw Wasiluk, director, Chamber of Treasury; and Edmund Kaczmarek, teacher at Combined Vocational School No 3 in Biala Podlaska.

The conviction that all must work in order to rescue the country from the crisis was voiced during the discussion. The labor force approaches this task with understanding, as evidenced by the conservation and anti-inflation



programs that have been drafted and are being implemented in the plants and that also are intended to utilize waste materials. It was declared that the work force of the BIAWENA Plant, which works in three shifts, will produce 4.4 million meters of fabrics this year, i.e. nearly as much as in the peak output year 1980 and with 20 percent fewer employees at that, and that it will increase its deliveries of yarn a well. But it was also pointed out that certain latent production potential has not yet been utilized, and the reasons for this were identified. For example, improved supplies could serve to expand the output of furniture walls by 30 percent at the Biala Furniture Factory. The importance of a wage incentive system promoting productive and well-organized work was pointed out. Attention was also drawn to the factors decisive to the quality and expansion of production for exports.

Much attention was paid to problems of housing construction and issues relating to the application of the economic reform and the supplies of consumer goods. These supplies are improving--it was stated in the report--owing to, among other things, trade with frontier districts of the USSR and especially with Brest. Biala Podlaska Province will this year barter its fruits and vegetables for several thousand bicycles, vacuum cleaners, enameled utensils, refrigerators and pails within the framework of this trade.

Much attention was devoted in the discussion to problems of developing agriculture. The problems most important to utilizing more fully the production potential of the farms were found to be rural water supply and the utilization of every hectare of land. Of the 700 villages in this province only 11 have water supply systems of the pipeline kind.

The region is a major producer and supplier of potatoes. The procurements of this crop have commenced. But farmers criticized the performance of procurement stations, declaring that they were losing too much time while waiting in line. Various proposals for streamlining procurements and improving the services of offices and institutions to farmers were made. Instances of indolence and bureaucracy in agricultural services were condemned. As regards the livestock situation, mention was made of the importance of a stable economic policy and a proper ratio between the procurement prices of crops and livestock to the development of livestock production.

Deputy premier Janusz Obodowski also took part in the discussion. Citing specific instances, he pointed to a significant improvement in the supplies of consumer goods and the growing trend toward their further stabilization. This is a sign of emergence from the crisis, and more over it provides the key for eliminating pathological phenomena (speculation, excessive self-enrichment, etc.). The speaker emphasized that the economy is ruled by economic laws and for this very reason it is necessary to intensify efforts at every work-station, improve the organization of production and maximally utilize work time. Plant management must also steadily improve working conditions.

The deputy premier devoted much attention in his speech to the operating mechanisms of the economic reform. He stressed the great importance of the struggle for an improved quality of production. In agriculture, too--he said--

good crop and livestock production and the utilization of every inch of land are important. He emphasized the planned nature of our economy. He stressed: "I think that the Three-Year Plan was not formulated badly, although it has been said that its targets and goals are too conservative. But such a framework of this plan is better, because we, the party, must after all keep our word and fulfill our pledges."

The Plenum accepted the proposal of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee for appointing comrade Zygmunt Zagorowicz to the post of director of the Province Committee's Ideological Department.

Toward its end, the Plenum adopted a resolution defining more precisely the directions of the party's work to further alleviate economic problems in Biala Podlaska Province.

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/The above report on the Plenum was to have been published last Saturday in this newspaper. Unfortunately, unforeseen technical problems in communication between our main office and the office in Biala Podlaska prevented us from publishing this report immediately after the end of the Plenum's deliberations./

/We apologize./

#### Krakow Plenary Sessions on Organizational Activities

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 5 Sep 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Krzysztof Cielenkiewicz: "The Time is Over When Belonging to the PZPR Reduced Chiefly to Carrying a Party Card: Report of the Executive Board; Discussion and Adoption of Resolution; Speech of Jan Glowczyk; Organizational Matters; Jozef Szczurowski Becomes Secretary of Krakow PZPR Committee" under the rubric "Plenary Deliberations of the Krakow PZPR Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(Own information.)/ Determining the socio-political tasks for the Krakow party organization till the end of this year was the main topic of the plenary session of the Krakow PZPR Committee held last Saturday.

Its deliberations were chaired by Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee, who, in behalf of the Krakow party echelon, cordially welcomed Jan Glowczyk, the visiting candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and such other participants as: Hieronym Kubiak, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, member of the Plenum of the Krakow PZPR Committee; Apolinary Kozub, chairman of the Municipal People's Council of Krakow; and Tadeusz Salwa, the mayor of Krakow.

The report of the Executive Board was presented by Jan Czepiel, secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee, who declared, among other things: /"The passage of

time is cooling emotions and serves to deepen and enrich the appraisals and reflections relating to August 1980. Events of such importance cannot be blanked out from historical record, both that reflected in ideological and political documents and that which is simply perpetuated in individual and social memory. The memory of August must be kept alive, because it is needed by the party, the working class and the society of socialist Poland. It is indispensable, above all, as a source of recommendations that must be implemented in order to avert a repetition of shocks ruinous to the country and delaying the emergence from crises. On the third anniversary of the signing of the agreements we declare that there is no turnback from August with its concern for the Fatherland's fate. There is no turnback from the economic reform and the reforms of the state's structure."/

The report also stated that the party must attend to and meet, regularly and permanently, vital interests of the working people, because this is a prerequisite for its credibility. Thus, everything must be done to cope with the party's own weaknesses and, through the mediation of the party members active in trade unions, worker self-governments and other social organizations--and also through the mediation of the managerial cadre appointed to its posts owing to PZPR recommendations--to promote the cause of the reforms.

Thus, what--against the background of the assessment of national and party problems made at the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee--is the situation of Krakow City Province and the Krakow party organization? This question was answered both in the report and in the plenary discussion. Some of these answers, essential to evaluating the path traveled so far, are presented below:

--There is an evident strengthening of the party and recovery of its ability for effective political action, especially at industrial plants. But the party's standing is still uncertain within the educational system and the scientific community as well as in design offices and many rural organizations.

--The ideological condition of the party has improved markedly and vacillation of attitudes has been largely halted.

--Accord among various patriotic forces is growing and deepening in Krakow--but the effectiveness of the party's activities in this field is not exclusively dependent on its efforts.

Are we doing well? That is a question for now and for the future. Krakow's industry has overfulfilled by 3.5 percent its targets for the first half of this year. The fulfillment of construction targets alone was greater by 20 percent compared with a like period last year. Export targets are being fulfilled satisfactorily and work time is being utilized somewhat better. But the output level of Krakow's industry is incommensurate with its potential and disturbing. Another disturbing factor is the continuing rise in wages ahead of the rise in labor productivity, as well as, in many cases, economic myopia or manipulation of prices to achieve unjustified profits. The report also

finds it disturbing that worker self-governments operate in only 70 percent of enterprises in our province and trade unions, in only 79 percent (compared with the nationwide average of 90 percent).

All the above factors markedly influence the country's socio-political mood and the rate of Poland's emergence from its crisis. For this very reason, party members and organizations must act more militantly and effectively--especially in the spheres of our political, social and economic life that are important to the future of our country. For it was clearly stressed at the Plenum: /the time is over when belonging to the party chiefly reduced to carrying a party card. All party members must declare their political views. It is no longer enough for a party member to say that he wants to remain in the party: he must also be politically active in his community and take an active part in implementing the party's program in every community./ The 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee reminded all party organizations and members of this duty.

The plenary discussion dealt with variegated issues relating to the main topic of the plenum, namely, the party's tasks in Krakow till year-end. The situation in the Krakow journalist community and the tasks implemented by the party newspaper were among the issues discussed by Slawomir J. Tabkowski, Editor-in-Chief of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA. Referring to the past 2 years, he recalled: /"...in those days so difficult to the party and the country many journalists, too, never abandoned the party and supported and continue to support its activities with their pen. This should be borne in mind as a counterpoint to many criticisms of us." He also dwelled in his speech on the problem and right of the journalist to press criticism, as well as to the interventionist function of the press, declaring that many problems with which readers turn to our newspaper could have been resolved by the appropriate office, work establishment or workers' self-government. But they are not doing so, and that is why people turn with their grievances to GAZETA KRAKOWSKA. It is good that people trust the press, but it is bad that they lack trust in others at their workplace, self-government, etc. We discuss many phenomena of our social and economic life: injustice, arrogance or issues denoted by the term 'social pathology.' We stress the need to combat them. But as regards particular grievances published in our newspaper, it is rare for us to learn of them from the POPs (basic party organizations) or the party members themselves. Their interest in publicistics is too low. "And yet, comrades, this is your own party newspaper just as it is ours."/

Problems of youth--against the background of recent events in Nowa Huta as well--were mentioned by nearly every participant in the discussion. Marian Stepień of Jagiellon University declared: /"We must protect youth against that element of amateur politicking--but we should not insulate it from serious political reflections. We are the force which undertook the burden of introducing order and tranquility, and I perceive as follows the tasks facing us, especially as regards education and culture: this order must be open to all values and promote rather than hamper the desired direction. In schools, for example, we must equip--not just at present but permanently--youth with ethical values and ability to think rationally....In institutions of higher



education we must promote creative thinking rather than politicking which makes 'sacred cows' of certain individuals. Any attempt to remove them by evaluating their academic accomplishments immediately leads to hue and cry about persecution. This also applies to the artistic world. The mood of opposition, etc. reigning there is restrictive to thought, because how can openness and value of thought be considered if emphasis is placed solely on citing bad examples in this country so as to justify one's own attitude and confirm one's own choice of internal 'emigration.' We need an efficient economy, good administration and devoted teachers rather than pathetic words and the emotional moods so readily inflamed by the opposition and its willing followers."/ Such were some of the statements made by Prof Marian Stepien.

Apolinary Cieslik said: "Work with youth is our strategic goal. In this task we have scored many accomplishments and many failures. The events of a few days in Krakow point to the unequivocally positive atmosphere of the Krowodrze Conference of Worker Aktiv, on the one hand, and the disturbances in Nowa Huta, on the other. In both cases, young people were concerned. The minds of the young are still greatly confused. We must show more concern for them--we all--upbringing should not be left to schools alone."

Zdzislaw Kosinski, first secretary of the PZPR District Committee in Nowa Huta, said: /"The times already are different, but the events in our district are repetitious. Disturbances in Nowa Huta are particularly necessary to the opposition, because our district is a symbol of socialism. But then there also exist conditions which make our district a favorable soil for these disturbances. The problem of youth and of a certain mentality involved here is also linked to the shortages of housing, etc. Hence I propose/ that the events in Nowa Huta be urgently evaluated through candid discussion, because only then counter-action can be strategic and produce results."

A newspaper article cannot present all the comments made during a discussion lasting several hours. Thus, a journalistic summary of the issues raised is instead presented here: employment problems were discussed by, among others, Stanislaw Juszczak of the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant; self-enrichment at the expense of others, chiefly of the working class, and the workers' criticism of the authorities for their failure to solve this problem as well as other social pathologies, were discussed by Ryszard Czyzycki.

Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, declared: /"We simply have to ponder our situation at this point in time--mid-1983. We won yet another round in combat against the political enemy and took another step forward in the direction of reducing tensions in Poland."/ He next declared that the defeat of the opposition was largely due to workers. The passive support of the slogans and appeals of the opposition also has diminished: consider for example the unsuccessful boycotts of the press, public transit, etc. Concerning the events in Nowa Huta, Jan Glowczyk said:/"Thus the streets are left to them. But the streets are society's 'exterior.' So the step in the direction of the 'streets' points to the opposition's isolation, even though one cannot still say that it has lost its support among certain groups of society."

Jan Glowczyk continued: "We say: more struggle, more accord. We must combat the declared enemy on ideological and political soil. We must also bear in mind that not all back us, but even so many back us. We do not ask them whence they come from: what is important is where are they going. The formula for the struggle is a formula not only for struggling against people but also for struggling to win people over. The party is growing stronger, both internally and by winning more supporters, allies outside our own ranks. Many people still do not support us, but they do not support the enemy either. We shall fight a long time to gain credibility. We must now attract followers from that front of neutrals--attract them not by the method of rotten compromises but by the method of program planks. Because we cannot be accused of that lack of a program which characterizes the opposition. It is precisely we who can say: come with us."/

The next item on the agenda was organizational matters. The following comrades were relieved at their own request from membership in the Krakow PZPR Committee (owing to change of workplace, assignment abroad or retirement): Jan Broniek, Krystyn Dabrowa, Franciszek Dabrowski, Barbara Machaj, Kazimiera Placheta and Bernadetta Strach. Jozef Gajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee, thanked all these comrades for their work in the Krakow party echelon and political and social activism.

The Plenum recalled Jacek Czernecki from its membership.

Through secret balloting, the Plenum elected Jozef Szczurowski to membership in the Krakow PZPR Committee and Executive Board as well as to the post of Committee secretary. It further elected, also through secret balloting, the following new members of the Executive Board of the Krakow PZPR Committee: Wiktor Kosmala, senior construction foreman, first secretary of the plant party committee at the BUDOSTAL-3 Structural Steel Elements Plant No 3, and Tadeusz Wronski, first secretary of the Krowodrze District PZPR Committee.

The following new members of the Krakow PZPR Committee were elected, also through secret balloting: Ryszard Borowiecki, Ryszard Borowski, Mieczyslaw Dulski, Zdzislaw Gierat, Irena Karaszewska, Jadwiga Nowakowska, Cecylia Pieprzyk and Eugeniusz Pustowka.

The Plenum recalled Jan Wolny from the post of director of the Organizational Department of the Krakow PZPR Committee, in connection with his departure for party work on a Polish construction site in the USSR. It also recalled Docent Julian Wielgosz--at his own request, motivated by the need to concentrate on scientific work--from the post of director of the Center for Polling and Ideological Upbringing, Krakow PZPR Committee.

The Plenum approved the appointment of: Kazimierz Gron, to the post of director of the Organizational Department under the Krakow PZPR Committee, and Marian Wasilewski, to the post of director of the Center for Polling and Ideological Upbringing, Krakow PZPR Committee.

After listening to the report and discussion, the Plenum of the Krakow PZPR Committee adopted a resolution on "Evaluation of the Region's Socio-Economic Situation and the Current Tasks of the Krakow Party Organization."/

The deliberations ended with the singing of "The International."

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/Jozef Szczurowski was born on 22 December 1946 in Krzywa, Rzeszow Province, to a peasant family. He is a graduate of a higher school of engineering, with a degree in sanitary facilities. Since 1963 he has been working in construction, climbing one after another the rungs from foreman to director of the Krakow Plumbing Fixtures Enterprise....He is an experienced longtime party activist, a party member since 1968, and during 1976-1978 he worked at the Krowdrze District PZPR Committee./

/The resolution of the Plenum of the Krakow PZPR Committee will be published in tomorrow's issue of GAZETA. /

#### Olsztyn Executive Board on Status in Agriculture

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 7 Sep 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (hi): "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Province PZPR Committee: Joint Meeting with the Province Committee of the United Peasant Party; Problems of Personnel and Facilities for Schools"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /(Own information.) Yesterday in Olsztyn took place a joint meeting of the Executive Board of the Province PZPR Committee, chaired by Jan Laskowski, first secretary of the Province Committee, and the Presidium of the Province Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) along with its chairman Wincenty Stelmaczonek. The meeting resolved to convene on 9 September a joint session of the PZPR and ZSL province committees for evaluating the current situation and the assumptions of the program for developing agriculture in Olsztyn Province through 1990. Its deliberations were attended by Sergiusz Rubczewski, Olsztyn Province Governor./

As the next item on the agenda, The Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee examined the course of the festivities inaugurating the new school year and the status of the preparation of teaching personnel and facilities for the 1983/1984 school year. Andrzej Gerszberg, inspector of education and upbringing, reported that instruction has begun in every school. Only a few preschools were not operating (among others, the preschool in Olsztyn at the intersection of Pienieznego and Zolnierska streets) owing to uncompleted repairs.

In the new school year schools face qualitatively different tasks. Special emphasis at present is placed on problems of upbringing.

In our entire region 10,999 teachers started work--475 more than in the previous school year. They include 116 graduates of the Higher Pedagogical School (WSP) and 205 secondary school graduates lacking teacher training. The

overall number of the latter is 374. They all will undergo various forms of training. In addition, about 1,000 other teachers have been assigned to various kinds of courses as well as to higher educational and postgraduate studies.

Discussion of employment problems revealed that workloads vary greatly. The greatest workloads occur in the countryside, where teachers often have to work as many as 13 hours in excess of the norm. It was emphasized at the same time that as of the present all the provisions of "The Teacher's Charter," which were to be implemented by 1 September of 1983, have been translated into reality.

As ensues from many documents and materials submitted to the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee, 102 facilities were extensively renovated during the summer vacation period. Work is still under way on an additional 79, of which 29 are scheduled for completion only after 1 January owing to the complicated nature of the operations. On the other hand, current repair has been carried out in 490 schools. In 190 schools repairs will continue for the next few weeks. In 30 schools, despite the needs, no repair was carried out. The construction of 30 school facilities (school and preschool buildings, athletic gymnasiums, housing for teachers), conducted by housing cooperatives, agricultural institutions or in the form of volunteer civic projects, is still continuing. This represents a considerable effort, but it still is not enough to meet the needs of our region. The most difficult situation at present exists in Mragow (where instruction is conducted in three shifts) and in the Olsztyn housing projects Nagorki and Dajtki. Elsewhere, and especially in the countryside, the most urgent need is housing for teachers. /In view of this situation, the session decided to appeal to all elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), work establishments, institutions and organizations for undertaking volunteer civic projects with the object of expanding the school facilities. The future of schools in the next few years will be decided by cadres and facilities--it was stated during the session. Unless the entire society displays civic commitment, it will be impossible to improve and expand the educational base in the very near future. Hence also the need for initiatives intended to build athletic gymnasiums, playing fields, housing for teachers, or even equipped classrooms, etc./

The discussion also touched upon activities of pupil and youth organizations, textbook supplies, teacher pay, and investment funds. The need to create conditions and atmosphere favorable to calm and honest work in schools and fusing teaching duties for any course of instruction with the upbringing duties expected of the school in the socialist state, was postulated. Other postulates voiced were: the need to entrust to the student body authentic and genuine self-government roles adapted to the spirit of the times and promoting the feeling of partnership in both rights and duties toward the school; the need to support the initiatives of the basic party organizations with the object of creating a broad plane of work of the school and cooperating with the community, parents and the whole of political life. During the session it was also stated that party organizations in schools should continue to improve their performance.

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PROVINCIAL DISCUSSIONS ON UNDERSTANDING REPORTED

August Understanding, Ninth Congress

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 30 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Ryszard Augustyn]

[Text] I bought the pamphlet "Porozumienia sierpniowe--Nadzieje, realia, perspektywy" [The August Agreements--Hopes, Reality and Prospects] out of curiosity rather than a sense of duty. Those agreements from the very beginning stirred many doubts and various contradictions within me. While the pamphlet published by the Government Press Office does not inspire emotions, neither does it remove doubts. It seems to me that in the case of the August agreements, we are dealing with such an unparalleled event that it escapes formal, legal and moral evaluations. I personally would find it quite difficult to undertake such evaluations.

Agreement or Disagreement?

August was, of course, a period of social protest against the authorities. It was not restricted, however. The wave of unrest in the months that followed reached other parts of the country. August on the Baltic Coast was barely a spark which set things off. Was it thus likely that already at the onset of the social conflict an agreement could be reached between the disputing parties?

The continuation of strikes and signing of new agreements showed clearly, however, that the August agreements were only a part of the August misunderstanding, regardless of how many tears were shed at their signing and how many sighs of relief followed them. Time strips facts of their emotional coating and adds sobriety to reflections. Looking back at the facts today, the August agreements basically provided one thing: an intermission from strikes on the Baltic Coast and a temporary suspension of a general strike threat. That was a lot, enough to make agreements and sign anything that was demanded, because a general strike could bring not only an economic catastrophe, greater than the one which we ultimately reached, but it could also bring civil war or some other unimaginable total disaster.

## The Question of Intent

Many conditions must be met for an agreement to be reached. First of all, there must be a sincere intent to reach an agreement. The government certainly wished it--just the fact that there was anyone left wanting to talk was an offer it could not refuse. It was the only offer it had and no other choice existed, because only a madman could think of quelling the strikes by force. Did the representatives of striking work forces from the Baltic Coast want an agreement? Obviously yes, because even foreign advisors probably did not wish to go too far. But did the strikers have in mind an agreement intended as a program of "coexistence" obligating both sides? Or was it rather a question of the strikers' prestige and something like satisfaction that the government (the authorities, the party) were brought to their knees? I am not trying to impute dishonorable motives to striking workers. Their just protest was understandable and so was their wish not for vengeance, perhaps, but for teaching the arrogant authorities a lesson. Perhaps the issue was not just to obtain satisfaction or make the protest more weighty, but to give a strong warning against possible attempts at returning to the pre-August distortions. If it was so, and to a degree it certainly was, this alone constituted an element disrupting the possibility of complete understanding.

## The Question of Balance of Strength

Another condition essential for achieving understanding is the balance of strength between partners. There is no need to convince anyone that there was no such balance. The authorities were already very weak, particularly the departing team. The strength of justice was on the workers' side, as well as the support of the masses; there was also the threat of consequences to which anger could lead.

Political experience was the only advantage on the side of the authorities. Despite the fact that many experts with professorial degrees went to Gdansk, the effects of their consultations were barely visible in the text of the agreements. As a matter of fact, this document confirmed the well known thesis that the working class is capable on its own of making postulates of a trade unionist character and demands for wages and social privileges. Of course, there were also postulates of a broader character, and political demands: the unrealistic "walesowka" and the 100-zloty allowance. This great number of demands did not, however, reach the optimum, namely what could be achieved if the working class had political experience on its side.

I do not mean this as a rebuke or complaint. After all, it is known that the working class is unable to articulate its class interests properly if it is not organized into a political party. I understand that there was little time and that consultations could not be expanded beyond the enterprises of the Baltic Coast. Neither do I mean to complain that the majority of society in whose name the agreements were signed was not asked for its opinion. I know that it is difficult to expect deliberation and reason from people brought to anger and despair. Looking at it objectively however, this aspect of the partners' inequality also must have had its impact on the results achieved.

## The Question of Responsibility

The third and perhaps the most important factor restricting the partnership of the parties concluding an agreement is the question of responsibility for the given word. It was clear that only the government would be expected to make good on the agreements and only the government could be blamed for the failures--although it is logical that with regard to social provisions, the government can only give as much as workers earn with their work. This feedback mechanism is decisive in the political sphere as well; something which can be seen from the example of independent self-governing trade unions. No matter how the authorities' attitude toward this movement is evaluated, there is enough proof showing that the working class was also unable to handle this matter.

The workers' divergence from the agreements was visible almost the day after they were signed. Walesa's words: "And now let's get to work; not only shall we make up for strike losses, but we shall make up for them with surplus," were not borne out by the facts. Strikes continued to erupt and demands frequently exceeded the August settlements, which in themselves were not very realistic. These are known facts and there is no need to retell them. Let us only make the reservation that in dotting the "i," I do not wish to hold anyone responsible, blame or accuse anyone. August was not the only month in which emotions overtook common sense. It is not the workers, or at least not the workers above all, who are responsible for the eruption of thoughtlessness. If one were to dig deeper, one ought to be able also to answer the question of who is responsible for the fact that the degree of workers' awareness and the scope of their skills in political activity turned out to be insufficient. Certainly in this self-examination the party will also find its place, something which has already been sufficiently documented in the Ninth Congress' resolutions and even earlier.

## The Ideas of August and the Ninth Congress

What was amiss in August became fact the following year. Already during the reports-election campaign, the party obviously remembered its obligations. At meetings and conferences in the course of formulating conclusions and remarks for the party program and its statute, the ideas of August were translated into the language of politics and taken over by the party, which, renewed, undertook the responsibility for their realization and implementation. All this found its expression in the program of the Ninth Congress, in the PZPR Statute and in personal renewal. Therefore if one wants to bring some order into [the question of] the August agreements and find a place for them in our political reality, they must be treated as inseparable from the Resolution of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR. Inseparable in the sense that in today's realization of the policy of the party and government, the spirit of the August agreements remains live, while the letter must be taken from the Resolution of the Ninth Congress.

I think that when the weak points of the August agreements and the totality of the situation (I have enumerated only some of its aspects) are contemplated, such a solution is perfectly just and should not be considered an abuse.

Workers in August were too full of emotions to be able to create a program of action. They feverishly created an idea for the improvement of our life, which, after a period of long and comprehensive discussions, was given the form of a concrete program with all attributes of formality and functionality only by the Ninth Congress of the PZPR. One cannot, after all, question the fact that workers brought about this congress, often the same workers who induced the ideas of August. It is true that banner was different. . . but this ought to be the worry of those who used the trade union banner in interests other than workers'. Life has proven that the party, despite the crisis and despite still unsurmounted weaknesses, is the only political force which can take the responsibility for renewal upon itself.

This is not meant as searching for the party's success at any cost; the fact that the party did not foresee August will remain forever a blot on its history (to put it delicately). The adoption of the ideas of August and their realization--so far consistent with the spirit of the August agreements and with the sense of realism--may be the achievement which one day will erase the party's other blame. Many things indicate that we are on the right path, although this path is not an easy one.

P.S. I ought to explain why in this text I left out altogether the influence of antisocialist forces on the fate of the August agreements. This influence was unquestionable. Nevertheless, one cannot erase the ideas of August, which--as the party has often emphasized--grew out of justified workers' protest. Rejecting these ideas on the grounds that destructive forces--external or internal--hooked up to them, would today suggest the success of these forces, a post mortem success. Thus, if the government today honestly makes accounts not only from the spirit but also from the letter of the agreements, this constitutes one more proof of its good will in the realization of these agreements. The recent months of success, and the failure of the enemy's latest efforts, probably allow us to bypass this element in an attempt to settle the question of agreements with the working class. One can assume that in further communication with the healthy majority of the working class, this element need no longer be a source of any serious disturbances.

#### Implementation of Social Understanding

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 30 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with various enterprise representatives; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /We published in GAZETA POMORSKA on 25 August statements by representatives of several work establishments from Bydgoszcz, Torun and Wloclawek provinces, concerning the "August agreements" and their realization. This remains a subject of lively interest in our society. Meetings with the party and government leadership in the Baildon steel works and Lenin Shipyard were closely followed. Representatives of state



authorities also met with representatives of work crews from a number of work establishments in our region. Today we are publishing several statements on the subject of the August social agreements./

/Stanislaw Pawlowski, foreman from the Wloclawek Hydrobudowa Industrial Construction Engineering Projects Enterprise:/ None of us has it easy and I too have reasons to complain. Together with my invalid son I have been waiting to receive an apartment. We have been promised one and there are chances that the problem will be solved positively. In general, however, I do not think that the state ought to be expected to help with everything. Any contract is binding to both sides, after all. Therefore, in our work establishment we have come forward with the initiative of forming a housing cooperative. After all, we have the equipment and can do the basic work. People's enthusiasm is, however, dampened by pedestrian problems, such as, for example, difficulties in obtaining a building site. In this case the help of administrative authorities is indispensable. On our own turf, however, we are managing increasingly better. Conditions are finally appearing for the realization of new economic principles of management. There are difficulties in this domain as well; for example, in our automobile workshop we have an acute shortage of fuels. There are also shortages of spare parts and the safety gear is of shoddy quality. People talk about it, without, however, expressing their discontent as emotionally as in the past. We know, after all, that this poorly made footwear or these clothes have been produced by a plant in the country. It is therefore high time, and everybody says so, to pay people for their work. It cannot be that those who "loaf around" eight hours a day receive equal pay with those who work honestly. As long as this is taking place, we cannot expect greater discipline and higher productivity. In this issue directives from above are of no use; what is needed is a wise attitude of worker self-government and the establishment's management.

/Wieslaw Siewierski, chairman of the Founding Committee of the Heat Power Industry Employees Trade Union Federation:/ I am not a devotee of creating new anniversaries and artificial reruns of old events. I am a union activist, but I also believe that unions do not need, for example, celebrations of the first anniversary of passing a labor movement law. Simply--every event has its beginning and there is nothing extraordinary in it. More important is full communication between people in work establishments and everybody conscientiously doing his share of work.

I would like society finally to begin respecting other people's convictions. How frequently concrete suggestions and arguments are answered with just one laconic word: "No"! And no effort is made to present a better solution or more convincing arguments. Many people find it difficult to accept that someone else is right even when it is indisputable. Common sense ought to take over emotions, stubbornness and prejudices.

Human problems should not be left unattended so long that they turn into sharp conflicts. A positive example in this respect is given by my workplace, the Provincial Heat Energy Enterprise where the management is a good partner in solving the employees' daily problems. I cannot even say that "August."

constituted a significant turning point in the activity of the enterprise-- it was simply sufficiently stable both before and after "August."

Trade unions, which are coming into existence in the current year, in their character correspond precisely to the letter of the social accords. I am strongly involved in the creation of the federation of trade unions of employees in our field. For this reason in this period I am most content with the fact that the organizational stage is nearing completion. We have obtained the acceptance of the State Council for forming the federation; we are expecting to be court registered in mid-September. In October we plan a national congress of the federation. If we are talking today about August agreements-- let us treat this as our contribution to their realization.

/Alfred Bigosinski, technologist in the Mogila Agromet-Inofama Agricultural Machinery Factory:/ Since the very beginning, that is, since August 1980, talk has been only about the realization of the agreements, evaluating what has already been done and what must be postponed because we cannot afford to "keep a promise." In my opinion, the value of the August agreements lies only in their termination of a dangerous social conflict in which the working class said "stop" to the current policy of the party and state authorities. On the other hand, it was no achievement either of the strikers or, even more so, of the authorities, that a program was written down which was unrealistic from the start and which carried within itself a possibility for deepening the crisis rather than overcoming it. We must remember this if we want to evaluate the significance of the August agreements.

Some people were intoxicated by wage increases, the right to free Saturdays, an apartment within 5 years and the right to form new labor unions. Precisely these points were a misunderstanding from the beginning, as they carried within themselves the threat of new conflicts and tensions and, in sum, meant a defeat for all of us. Lack of connection between wage increases and better work performance and productivity; decreasing the amount of work hours without improving its organization; breaking up the union movement, as well as the realization of other points of the agreement, which took place under coercion, only deepened our crisis. This ought to teach us that signing agreements under the threat of strike is an error which should not be repeated. We should decide social programs in a different way and not by so called social contracts.

Thus I do not evaluate the August turning point by the degree of realization of this or that point of the agreement, but rather by how we are using the rights to decide our affairs, rights which we gained after rejecting the erroneous policy of the late 1970's.

### Three Years After Signing for Social Understanding

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 31 Aug 83 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Independent and Self-Governing"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] "It has been agreed that on the basis of experts' opinions, self-governing trade unions can be formed which will be of socialist character, in conformity with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic." This is the basic settlement of the Szczecin accord concerning the union movement. Better known are the formulations of the Gdansk accord, widely popularized during the dispute about the statute of "Solidarity." The latter assured that the [new] unions did not intend to play the role of a political party and would respect the principles of our political system. The creation of independent and self-governing trade unions was a problem which interfactory strike committees considered the most important one in negotiations with government commissions; on this issues the toughest disputes continued to the end.

Less than 2 weeks after the agreements were signed, the Council of State issued a decree which permitted the registration of newly created trade unions outside of the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] register. On this basis, 82 new unions were registered. Six weeks after the agreements were signed, a team selected by the Council of State from among scientists and representatives of all currents of the trade union movement began the grueling and difficult pioneering work on the trade union statute, which was to create conditions for the formation of a new model trade union movement. On 10 November 1980, the Supreme Court registered the NSZZ [Independent Self-governing Trade Union] "Solidarity," which enclosed in its statute the settlement from the Gdansk accord constituting the obligation to respect the principles of the Constitution of the PRL, recognize the leading role of the PZPR in the state, and not impair the established international alliances.

/We remember very well what followed./ "Solidarity," to which people tied so many of their hopes, abandoned their obligations to an increasing degree. The battle for changing the methods and system of exercising power in the country began to assume more and more the characteristics of a battle against the political system, aimed at the fundamental principles of the existence of the Polish state as a member of the socialist community. Thus the obligations from the Baltic Coast and Jastrzebie, binding on both sides after all, were broken. This was ended by the imposition of martial law. All trade unions were suspended and work on the statute on unions interrupted.

/Soon, however, the subject of the trade unions' future returned to the public forum./ Already in February 1982, the Committee on Trade Unions submitted proposals for discussions of this issue. The discussion, boycotted by "Solidarity" activists, brought, understandably, divergent opinions and postulates, ranging from a restoration of the former structures to a "zero option," that is, building new unions from the basics. Arguments favoring the latter conception prevailed. The law on trade unions, passed on 3 October 1982,

dissolved by the force of temporary regulations all formerly operating unions and introduced principles of building new union structures by stages, starting at the level of work establishments.

Such is a telegraphic summary of the most stormy chapter in the history of the union movement in post-war Poland and in the history of the whole nation. However, regardless of the development of events, the accords signed on the authorization of workers and the authorities remain.

/To what degree does the letter of these agreements influence the current position of the union movement?

Neither the statute on trade unions nor the declarations of the authorities leave any doubt that the pre-August model of trade unions, which--as it was stated in the Gdansk accord--"did not fulfill the employees' hopes and expectations," comes into play at all. At the same time, no one who thinks logically counts on a return in the union movement to the pre-December period of anarchy and rowdiness. Today's trade unions constitute a completely new quality in sociopolitical life.

Building new organizational structures from foundations does not signify, however, that in terms of the program the unions are starting from zero. The new unions took over from their predecessors what was the best, what the working class needed most: the traditions of caring for the daily needs of employees and their families, an uncompromising attitude in fighting for the interests of the work crews, a sense of independence, and democratic aspirations. The new unions feel responsible for the control of the realization of the social agreements to the degree that this is possible in the country's present difficult economic conditions. These features and aspirations revealed themselves clearly at the nationwide meeting of trade union activists in the Baildon steel works./

Consistent realization of this model will decide the mass character of the union movement, its strength and positions. It was never exactly known how many members belonged to the pre-December unions. In any case, the membership was very large. Today union members are still in the minority; there are only about 3.2 million of them, which is still a large number considering that they have been around for only 8 months and that they were formed in extremely difficult socioeconomic and psychological conditions.

Curbs in the organizational development of this movement are gradually being lifted. Already on 12 April of this year, the Council of State used the power of the statute and undertook a resolution on the principles and method of forming national union organizations. Several such organizations have already been registered, and the first of them--the federation of metallurgical trade unions--has already had a founding congress. Unionists most often choose the form of a federation, which better meets the enterprise organizations' need for independence than a homogeneous trade union. The date for opening the possibility of several trade unions operating in one enterprise, the possibility of which was written down in the statute, remains unresolved. This question ought to be resolved by the end of 1985, when the Council of State evaluates the realization of the whole statute on trade unions and discusses with the unions' proposals for possible changes.



Apart from these temporary curbs, which were dictated by obvious sociopolitical premises, the statute guarantees unions full self-governance and independence from the administration. At the same time a new structure of relations between the party and trade unions is being formed. The Resolution of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, from October 1982, clearly states that there are no forms of subordination between union and party organizations. In case of conflicts and contradictions between state and economic administration and the unions, the party supports the unions, in conformity with the idea of the statute. This does not mean, of course, that the party resigns its leading political role in the building of socialism, which it exercises also with regard to the unions.

/The statute has given the unions rights and possibilities for the execution of these rights which they never had before./

At the meeting of unionists in the Baildon steel works, the system of consultations, which was to express the unions' right to public opinion on key decisions determining the living conditions of the working class, the principles of national income distribution and the distribution of the fund of social consumption, and other problems specified in the Gdansk accord and important for the working class, was very critically evaluated. Its realization has, however, been difficult since unions until recently have operated only at the level of work establishments. For this reason, in March of this year the Council of Ministers has temporarily adopted a resolution on the scope and procedure of consultations with the unions.

/The formation of national organizations, however, creates a new situation. As unionists in Katowice have been assured, the government intends to tackle the problem of new methods of consultation with the union movement, guaranteeing it authenticity and representativeness. This currently is one of the most important issues for the present and the future of the unions and for their position in work establishments and the state./

#### Meeting on Supporting Understanding

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 7 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (mag); passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /A conference of the Gdansk Province party aktiv took place yesterday in the NOT Technical Center. Among the several hundred participants were representatives of provincial political and administrative authorities, 191 delegates to the PZPR Provincial Reports-Election Conference, delegates to the Ninth Party Congress, and numerous representatives of the PZPR party echelons in enterprises and rural party organizations of the province./

The conference had a decisively working character. In his opening remarks, deputy Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee

in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger, said that the purpose of the conference was to discuss the sociopolitical and economic situation in the region and party tasks resulting from it.

/Talking about the peaceful, normal rhythm of life and work of the province's residents in the past month, the Provincial Committee's first secretary stated that the development of the sociopolitical situation in the region during that period, and the course of events on 31 August, confirmed that society did not accept the tactics imposed on it by the political opposition. Demonstrating a high level of civic maturity, society proved that it accepted the directions of socialist renewal adopted at the PZPR Ninth Congress and the actions undertaken by the party and the government aimed at leading the country out of the economic crisis./

The few attempts at rowdy demonstrations did not gain the working class' support. This can be proven by the failed attempt to organize a so-called "Italian" strike by the former Solidarity underground in work establishments, among other things, or the failure of the planned boycott of the press and city transportation. /Society also did not let itself be provoked to participate in street demonstrations against the organs of order and public safety. Although there were attempts at organizing marches and gatherings, especially around the Church of St. Brigitte in Gdansk, the demonstrators dispersed at the urging of the forces of order.

Comrade Stanislaw Bejger, on behalf of the provincial party organization authorities, expressed high appreciation for the patriotic attitude of the province's residents, who decisively rejected the August calls of the opposition to confrontation with the legal powers. He stressed the important influence of the speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, who at a meeting with the union aktiv in the Baildon steel works confirmed the authorities' determination to continue the realization of the ideas of the August agreements. Also important in this regard/--stressed the Provincial Committee first secretary--/was the course of the recent meeting of Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, which revealed the true face of the so-called political opposition. It showed that there was no one to talk with and nothing to talk about./

/Stanislaw Bejger recognized the continuation of actions aimed at rebuilding society's trust in the party and increasing all PZPR members' involvement in solving economic problems, particularly those connected with the proper implementation of the principles of the economic reform and realization of the tasks resulting from the socioeconomic plan for the years 1983-85, as necessary conditions for further stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the province.

Discussing the problems of fighting the political enemy, the Provincial Committee first secretary emphasized the necessity of a state of greater mobilization of party organizations in work establishments, aggressiveness of actions promoting and explaining the assumptions of the party's current policy, and unmasking in the press, radio and television the intentions of the political underground. These actions must be intensified above all in youth communities./

In conclusion, Stanislaw Bejger emphasized that intensive propaganda activity carried on by particular party echelons, work establishment organizations and mass media, as well as effective prevention activities of the MO [police] and SB [security forces] organs, contributed to the normalization of the sociopolitical situation in the province; the Provincial Committee first secretary gave them heartfelt thanks for this.

Brig Gen Jerzy Andrzejewski referred to Stanislaw Bejger's pronouncement and stressed the counterrevolutionary forces' estrangement in society, which contributed in a decisive degree to the failure of the underground opposition's intentions. /He emphasized also the dedication of the MO and SB functionaries carrying out tasks aimed at assuring order and public security in the province. Within the framework of these actions, a number of illegal printing places were liquidated in August and large amounts of flyers and publications with antistate content were taken./

/Adam Jablonski/, chairman of the Provincial Commission of Party Control [WKKP] spoke about the commission's work. /The WKKP issued in the first half of the year 177 rulings and currently a further 104 cases are being investigated. The investigations have mainly concerned abuses and misdemeanours committed by individuals from the management of enterprises. On the basis of the WKKP rulings, 4 persons were expelled from party ranks, 13 were given party penalties, warning talks were carried out with 5, and 6 people were cleared of charges. A total of 42 cases were submitted for investigation to party echelons and organizations./ Among those penalized were a director of the former Association of Gdansk-Gdynia Sea Ports, and a director of one of the Gdynia schools.

Provincial Committee Secretary /Bohdan Daszkiewicz/ spoke in his pronouncement about the work of the provincial party organization. /The basic direction of work of the Gdansk party organization, which currently numbers 74,299 members and candidates, is the organizational and ideopolitical strengthening of particular echelons and party organizations on the basis of the resolution of the Central Committee's 12th Plenum and current resolutions of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Gdansk.

The Provincial Committee secretary included among the most urgent tasks in party work the participation of work establishments' party organizations in raising work efficiency and the realization of economizing and anti-inflationary programs, and in the creation of a proper climate for the renewal and activization of self-government and the union movement in enterprises./

Currently, out of the 960 enterprises in the province in which legal conditions exist for the functioning of trade unions, 722 are involved in the process of forming unions. /Registered trade unions operate in 535 enterprises. On the whole, out of the 440,000 people employed in the socialized economy, 63,000 belong to trade unions, which constitutes 14.4 percent of the employees. This indicator is not very high./ The weakest development of the union movement can be seen in cooperatives, institutions for the dissemination of culture, and in design offices.

Economic information was presented by Provincial Committee Secretaries /Mieczyslaw Stefanski/ and /Leon Brancewicz./ Comrade Mieczyslaw Stefanski, expressing appreciation to the farmers for the efficient course of this year's harvest, pointed out a worrisome decline in livestock husbandry. Thus, /there is an urgent need for analyzing this situation and drawing appropriate conclusions in party and farmers' self-government organizations./

Comrade Brancewicz emphasized that /the currently implemented conservation programs are not of a temporary character and conservation ought to be a daily practice in the countryside and the city, also after 1985. In the province's economy, after the first 8 months of this year, a 12-percent production increase has been recorded, and the obtained reduction in material costs has reached the value of 3 million zlotys in the first half of the year./

This does not yet constitute a reason for satisfaction because--as the Provincial Committee secretary emphasized--progress is measured in relation to results from the years 1980-1981. Besides, it is not sufficiently tied to progress in the structure of employment, proper relations between work efficiency and wages, and an increase in production quality. /He also recalled that the next plenary session of the provincial party organizations will be devoted to party tasks in this regard./

The following people participated in the discussion: /Zygmunt Stachowiak/, City District Committee secretary from the Wrzeszcz-Oliwa district, Walerian Gostomski, Gmina Committee first secretary in Gniewino, and first secretaries of PZPR plant committees: /Jozef Bogdanowicz/ from the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, /Ryszard Jachimowicz/ from the Enterprise for Dredging and Underwater Work [PRCIP], and /Zdzislaw Nowakowski/ from the Gdansk refinery.

They discussed problems connected with the sociopolitical and economic situation in the areas of their organizations' activities, emphasizing what needs to be done in order to eliminate deficiencies and shortcomings in current party work. Comrade Walerian Gostomski talked about the causes of decline in livestock husbandry and the condition of farming equipment owned by some farming circles.

Comrades Bogdanowicz and Nowakowski talked about the difficulties in party work and excessively slow process of rebuilding union structures in their work establishments. Also interesting was the pronouncement of Ryszard Jachimowicz, who pointed out the necessity of strengthening the authority and position of enterprise party organizations in relation to enterprise management.

Summing up the discussion, Provincial Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Bejger stated that /the conclusions formulated by particular comrades confirm the correctness of the directions of action adopted by the provincial echelon. They will be taken into consideration in the course of preparations for the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the reports-election campaign, which will begin in the party soon./

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CRITICS CONTINUE ATTACKS ON SCHAFF'S VIEW ON MARXISM

'Semantic Manipulation' Cited

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 21, 25 May 83 p 4

[Article by Adam Rostowski: "A Cold"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface. For translation of Schaff article on the crisis of Marxists, see "Scholar Views Socialist Revolutions as Non-Marxist" in JPRS 84097, No 2182 of this series, 11 August 1983, pp 43-49.]

[Text] /With great interest and concentration I made a thorough study of Prof Adam Schaff's extensive article titled: "A Crisis of Marxism or Marxists?", in which he makes a logically constructed case in defense of the hypothesis that it was not marxism but marxists who have undergone and are still undergoing a CRISIS [author's emphasis] in our country./

But it strangely happens that somehow this crisis is suspiciously often undergone by the poor marxists who come from similar party, scientific and social circles. The connections become quite clear as we review the events and turns in our history during the 1956, 1968, 1970 and 1980 time periods.

Returning, however, to the point of the issue, permit me to cite the very apt, in my opinion, statement by A. Schaff, in which he postulates that /"Marxists in Poland who want the Republic to really recover must... decidedly negatively assess these trends and this method of behavior of people who, while they are responsible for our difficulties, would like to wriggle out of this responsibility by a cheap maneuver."/

A statement, I believe, which is correct, since we encounter a great many such solutions in our everyday activities and observe them in the sociopolitical activities of our country. Perhaps I am unfair, and even a little oversensitive, but I get the impression that the "defense of marxism" method adopted by A. Schaff is, in many aspects and planes, just such a "cheap maneuver." Because what has the reader who read, to the very end, the reasonings and arguments set forth by the "Crisis..." author, learned? Therefore, out of the semantic entanglement of the article, the following information, assertions and suggestions, emerge in a rather clear way:

1. The author learns from a certain /"very well thought of and enlightened philosopher"/, probably a marxist, that /"marxism is finished"/, just as the /"spiritually suffering marxists"/ are finished.

2. Wanting to help the /"crippled"/ and /"broken"/ marxists, comrade Prof Adam Schaff, after 14 years of /"exile" and "absolute silence"/ in Poland, responds to a call, appealing, at the same time, to others like him who have also been /"silent"/ to stop sulking and join him in the /"call"/ to defend marxism, and particularly the /"broken marxists"/ in /"the face of the dangers threatening the principles"/.

3. The author of the article under discussion considers whether or not to propose the establishment of a /"marxist kindergarten"/ in the PZPR Central Committee, to which all of those would be sent who do not agree with Prof A. Schaff's views, as for example, was done in April of last year by the journalist of the very disliked, in some circles, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI newspaper, Wit Gawrak.

4. Citing Engels, who in analyzing the situation in 19th century Europe said that /"for socialism to be victorious, there must be a highly developed working class..." and A. Gramsci, that /"in order for a revolution to be carried out (the revolution in Russia was being referred to) there must be the consent and support of the masses, in practice--and not just in the announcements of the official propaganda--for socialist transformations"/, A. Schaff, in a camouflaged way, attempts, in my opinion, to sneak in the thesis that revolutionary, socialist sociopolitical transformations in our country were and are premature. He states also that /"there is an entire syndrome of conditions on whose fulfillment marxism is dependent for the theoretical acquiescence for bringing about a socialist revolution,"/ and a little further on, in recapitulating his thoughts on this issue he declares, with a certain amount of satisfaction, that /"The thesis that failure by the architects of past socialist revolutions to fulfill marxist conditions had to result in the weaknesses and difficulties of these resolutions, cannot be surprising."/ From there it is only a step to formulation of the conclusion--this, according to Schaff's design, the reader is supposed to do himself--that the socialist revolution in Poland was premature, hence the difficulties and many turns and bends. Prof A. Schaff, it is true, stipulates magnanimously that /"this does not mean that any kind of resolution at all is not permitted if these conditions are not fulfilled, but only a socialist revolution"/. This entire complicated and very one-sided simplified theoretical argument is supposed to prove that not only were we incapable of a socialist revolution but that it was premature and perhaps thrust upon us, and so perhaps we should retreat from continuing it further to the phase of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. We are, therefore, close to the theses of the 1980-1981 years, known and loudly promoted by well-known political forces.

5. According to the author, after the 1968 events which were explicitly interpreted and classified by our party, /"rank-and-file party members, terrified by the situation, were indirectly forced to go into exile"/ and were furthermore, in Schaff's opinion /"dismissed from the party in an improper and wrongful way..."/. Schaff then criticizes those spiritual, and not just spiritual, leaders of marxists and "revolutionaries" who /"simply turned coward, were fearful of personal dangers and ran, leaving behind their cohorts who were not able

to run"/. One must wonder why the author puts the greater blame on these "cohort leaders". Is it because they did not take their cohorts into exile with them, or because they were offended at marxism, or took the status of "crippled" and "broken" marxists, and for whom--we should presume not so numerous, as experience has shown-- the Lord Jim tragedy began.

6. The reader also learns that according to Schaff, it is the /"old stalinists who are to blame for Poland today"/. True, he says this in the context of the older generation, who left the party because they suddenly "discovered" in themselves an irresistible drive for pure democratism, but the words were spoken. At one time the Jews and cyclists were blamed for everything. Today all of the blame is placed on the stalinists. But this does not sound very convincing from the lips of a scholar of Schaff's measure, particularly since he regards himself as a former stalinist. But let us remember that up to 1956 these types of arguments were used quite frequently and somehow they did not convince the people.

7. In our country, and especially now in 1983, there is a lack of freedom of thought, both in science and in marxists. And so Prof Schaff appeals, threatening incalculable results of bankruptcy, to us that as quickly as possible we /"give marxism, on a par with all of science, freedom of thought, because this freedom is in our country, unfortunately, a scarce goods,"/ but who restricts this freedom of thought to marxists and science? Bureaucracy, of course. Schaff does not add here shamefacedly that it is party bureaucracy that is being referred to here, a bureaucracy which /"firmly defends its position in the holy conviction that it is saving marxism"/. We know, we know. We know what it is all about. To the Jews, cyclists and stalinists we must add "bureacrats" and everything is just lovely.

In Schaff's arguments we can still find a number of interesting formulations, assessments and forecasts, to which we should address ourselves. But we will restrict ourselves to those that have been presented. I think that it is worth recapitulating all of the above-presented substantive ideas, at least in abbreviated form.

For example, I am firmly convinced that Prof Adam Schaff is fully correct when he states that we are not dealing with a "crisis of marxism", or as R. Reagan, president of the United States, describes it, "the beginning of the end of the era of communism", but with a crisis of marxists, who never were real marxists and who regarded their party membership as an ordinary "position", or a premise for making a career for themselves. Those were the "marxists" who are always ready, as Schaff graphically described, /"to leave their post as soon as the wind blows cold and the period of privileged stroking comes to an end."/ The practice of leaving the party when the going is tough proves however, that as soon as the wind blows a little warmer the "broken" and "crippled" marxists want to quickly board the ship which left during the storm, again meekly submit themselves for stroking. And the more energetic ones push forward to take a place at the rudder as soon as the ship sails into calmer waters. Lord Jim's social and moral status does not suit these people at all. They undertake active cosmetic, masking and disinforming measures. Frequently they cloak themselves in the feathers of law-abiding but strayed pigeons, or

change the color of their skin quickly like a chameleon, adding an especially large amount of red color. In this context the specific question arises, whether Schaff after 14 years of "absolute silence" is responding to a call to save marxism, or to save the "broken" and "crippled" marxists?

Marxism, as we know, does not need to be saved. It is encompassing more and more areas of the world in the geographic and sociological sense. It is not undergoing a crisis, but on the contrary, it is still on a continuous offensive, which is shown best by the fact that it is being put into effect for 65 years now. Obviously this is not taking place without difficulties, the resistance of dedicated classes and a fierce struggle with the capitalist circles. I believe, however, that the Polish case is an ordinary "cold" for marxism. But for the "broken" and "crippled" pseudomarxists it has turned out to be a very dangerous sickness, from which, who knows, perhaps they would recover most quickly in the "marxist kindergarten", to which Schaff so willingly is sending the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI journalist. It is obvious that it is the actual and official position of the party not to turn anyone away, but there must be a certainty that the "turned-around marxists" will not "break down" again just as soon as the wind begins to blow a little colder.

One should agree with Schaff that practice did not falsify marxism. It was falsified (forged, counterfeited and distorted) by those who in this falsified way incorporated marxist-leninist theory into the practice of building socialism. I am convinced also that marxism gave its "theoretical acquiescence" to the /"architects of past socialist revolutions"/, who were, after all the marxist-leninist parties, for their conduct and implementation. Schaff's fears and reservations are baseless on this point, and had Marx and Engels found themselves in an era of rebirth of capitalism into imperialism, they too would also have given Schaff such "theoretical acquiescence". It was V. I. Lenin, after all, who in creatively developing Marx and Engels theory defined the laws of the unequal development of economic capitalism in its imperialistic stage, the thesis of /"the weakest link in the chain of capitalism"/, of the revolutionary situation, of the subjective and objective premises of a revolution, and of the possibilities of the victory of a SOCIALIST [author's emphasis] revolution in a single country. W. I. Lenin assumed correctly that there are no so-called "clean" revolutions. A revolution--a revolutionary situation--is a conglomerate of various factors, forces and conditions, which have a common vector. This vector is the necessity of change in the existing situation. Schaff's misgivings that there was no "theoretical acquiescence" for carrying out socialist revolutions in some countries are, therefore, in my opinion, an ordinary semantic manipulation or oversight, since I do not suspect that he is treating the Engels and Marx theory in a dogmatic manner. Both classicists of scientific socialism would be offended at such treatment of their revolutionary theory. The point rather is that in order to fulfill the revolutionary tasks of the period of the proletariat dictatorship, a clear, unequivocal marxist-leninist party line is needed, a line which cannot "be the tail end of the masses" but which must be their real revolutionary VANGUARD [author's emphasis]. I doubt very much whether the party can be this vanguard and leading force if it includes the "broken" and "crippled" marxists. The successive party turns and crises confirm these fears. What then, is involved in this Schaff "crisis of marxists"?



The reader may get the impression that all of the material was so constructed and represented, consciously or not, as to call for a specific kind of help for the "broken" and "crippled" marxists, and to emphasize those areas of marxist theory which supposedly do not suit the practice of real socialism. It is obvious that at this particular point an excerpt should be cited from an article by Yuri Andropov, secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, titled "Karl Marx's Teachings and Some Problems in Socialist Construction in the USSR", in which the author writes, /"the concrete historical roads in the building of socialism were not, in every respect, those that the creators of our revolutionary theory anticipated. At the beginning it succeeded in one, and a not very developed, economically, country. The fact is, however, that the October Revolution occurred under historically new conditions which did not exist during Marx's lifetime, in an age of imperialism, which finally found its expression in leninist socialist revolution theory, and which was entirely verified in practice"/.

Therefore, the matter is not based on rigid adherence to the text of the classicists of scientific socialism, but on the creative development of marxism and on the fundamental incorporation of its theoretical assumptions, with particular sensitivity to the inadmissibility of deviations from its principle assumptions.

On the other hand, insofar as the allegedly-wronged 1968 exiles are concerned, as we know attempts were made during the post-August "renewal" to rehabilitate them, and they were even invited to return. They did not take advantage of this, however, which can only be proof of the fact that they apparently felt that at this time there was no atmosphere of "free thinking" for them. Should we count them among the "broken" or "crippled" marxists, or among with ordinary deserters and renegades, who with the zeal of neophytes joined the clamorous antisocialist and anti-Polish campaign, which Schaff also confirms? But I would not agree with his assessment that /"this is a matter of lesser importance from the perspective of a crisis of marxists"/. I believe quite to the contrary that particularly in this context this is a matter of major importance, since it clearly shows to what kind of political, ideological and moral downfall a crisis such as this brings people who once called themselves marxists.

#### 'Opportunists' Responsible for Crisis

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 24, 15 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Wojciech Garstka: "Have the Opportunists Deserted?"; for translation of Schaff article on the crisis of Marxists, see "Scholar Views Socialist Revolutions as Non-Marxist" in JPRS 84097, No 2182 of this series, 11 August 1983, pp 43-49.]

[Text] Prof Adam Schaff in his article "A Crisis of Marxism or Marxists?" questions whether marxism as a revolutionary theory of revolutionary practice has remained unscathed while marxists are becoming ideologically frustrated and are breaking down.

I believe that this is not so. I believe that the problem should be stated differently: whether this is a crisis of marxism or only a desertion of the opportunists who sometimes, even sincerely, thought they were marxists. I also believe that professor Schaff's article, irrespective of the reservations that I want to put forth here, gives us an excellent opportunity to thoroughly discuss a diagnosis of the crisis mentioned.

In examining the "crisis of marxists" during the post-October period, the author writes that, in principle, it did not go **/"beyond the army ranks--it did not reach the command leadership"/** [in boldface]. And further on: **/"...a peculiar kind of "revisionism" spread, but this was not a revision of marxism, but on the contrary, it was a restoration of its luster through a revision of the false (as it turned out) policy assumptions of the past period"/** [in boldface]. The revisionists remained deeply convinced marxists and thought that it was they who represent "real" marxism.

These are interesting theses, but they are not very consistent with what I have learned thus far. I heard, for example, about prophets of the "second stage" of the October renewal. Could it be that they belong to these "army ranks?" Were these prophets always concerned about a "revision of the false policy assumptions of the past period"?

Professor Schaff brings up a matter of exceptional interest for every young marxist in Poland. He writes that **/"a new division appeared, one that was fatal for the further development of the party--a division into "Natolins" and "Pulaw-szczyks"/** [in boldface], and further on, **/"but no one negated marxism"/** [in boldface].

I would like to find out from the author why this division that he talks about was "fatal", and how are we to understand the statement that "the division appeared" (it existed, really and objectively, or did someone artificially announce it; it "appeared" by chance or was there some kind of important basis for this)? Why did Schaff then, and why does he now, maintain that there was a "crisis of marxists" in Poland, since he writes that "no one negated" marxism?

Professor Schaff writes further on that ideological surrender became peculiar to today's crisis of marxists, which is deeper and worse. I did not believe thus far that there were such great differences between the post-October crisis and today's crisis, from this standpoint. But could it be that Schaff was right? How then, can one assess the example--not necessarily the best--of Wladyslaw Bienkowski? I have before me two of his texts on the subject of problems of historical materialism--one early one, from 1966, "Problems in the Theory of Social Development," (Polish Scientific Publishing House), and the second, published in four parts in an illegal periodical under the title, "Philosophy of History and Social Theory." In both cases, particularly in the introductions, Bienkowski praises marxism and Marx, except that then in the text he systematically refutes and misinterprets all of the fundamental theses of historical materialism. In the first text he does this so subtly and in such a camouflaged form that it may be more difficult to detect. In the second text, however, he does this clearly, finally reaching the conclusion that marxism is outdated.

But there is still a more recent example, the example of Leszek Nowak. Almost all of the books written and published by him in the 1970's contains somewhere in the title the adjective "marxist", and in the introduction a number of declarations and quotations suggesting that the author would be willing to be drawn and quartered for Marx and his theories. During that period of Nowak's creativity, an extremely fruitful one, I tried rather timidly among a small group of colleagues, to present my belief that at least some of his ideas have nothing in common with marxism. Some of the older colleagues are ready to believe this only now, when L. Nowak after 1980 with particular activeness and inexorability began to point out "Marx's errors" in his lectures and publications.

It seems to me, therefore, that "ideological surrender" does not have to consist only of an ostentatious tearing-up of a party membership card, or emigration to the West, or of writing a fat book on the "fall of marxism." People were surrendering in the 1950's also, and are surrendering today, showing, at the same time, a childish attachment to pseudomarxist platitudes and stating, just like Bienkowski, that marxism was and is "a brilliant theory", except that now it should be rejected, or should undergo a major overhaul, that some parts of it should be "reinterpreted."

I would say, generally speaking, that the dissidents from the "party church" are omitting in their evolution today the intermediate stage--the stage of breaking away from marxism, which has been camouflaged by vapid, verbal declarations about willingness to improve it and modernize it. Not everyone has been able to pass over this stage, and thus here and there publications are still appearing and there are utterances in which a layer of icing was applied to marxist vocabulary and the same quotations from the classicists were adapted to slogan forms. But historical correctness is such that it is not necessary today to stay in a revisionist quarantine for a long time. For example, one can avidly defend marxism one day, especially against the dogmatists, and the next day announce to the world that "marxism is finished."

The hypothetical conclusion which I wish to propose as a result is this: it is not true that we are seeing a crisis of marxists! However, we are seeing the result of a historical experimentum crucis, in the course of which all of those who for reasons of economic conditions joined the marxist-leninist left, also for reasons of economic conditions are deserting like a flash, covering up their traces by loud shouts about "Marx's fundamental errors." Even if we accept Schaff's definition of a marxist (one who knows the theory and internalizes it), we must admit without hesitation that today's ideological dissidents were never marxists.

#### Philosopher and Practitioner

A. Schaff, knowing the possible differences in the level of marxist knowledge, requires that a marxist have scarcely a "basic knowledge in this area." Let us assume that someone knows the "marxist primer" and identifies it with several expressions which are used as slogans, such as "life shapes awareness", all of past history is the history of class struggles", "religion is the opium of the people", "the essence of man is the totality of social relations", etc., etc., ad nauseum. For years in conducting various forms of training and lectures,

and testing students, I have seen such "formation of consciousness", and this level of knowledge of marxism. These are, on the whole, really the rank-and-file party members, often of a low educational level. But unfortunately, while in many such cases we are dealing with lack of knowledge which is to some extent understandable, in other cases which I am really embarrassed to mention, I encounter qualified and in addition, shameless, ignorance. However, the phenomenon that I regard as a fundamental disaster in the intellectual circles who admit to marxism, is the total lack of knowledge and understanding or skill in applying marxist dialectics. It is here that a real bog of platitudes, banalities and ignorance opens up, and this reveals itself when a given "marxist" goes from a "brochure" expression of dialectics on to other thoughts, where he should use dialectics as a method of analysis and an outlook on reality.

Would professor Schaff agree to grant people of such "marxist knowledge" the status of marxists? Because I would rather not.

Another problem in the case of the definition criteria proposed by Schaff is their psychological nature. It is worth asking oneself whether the "internalization" of marxist theses is verifiable. Marxism itself, it seems to me, proposes a reply to this, and the biographies of its classicists show favorable examples. I believe that no one can be regarded to be a marxist who is not actually "superactive" socially and politically. The touchstone of human attitudes and intentions are deeds. Marxism rejects an insipid contemplation of the world and demands that it be changed. A marxist, therefore, must be a social and political activist, and by this measure a philosopher's office cannot be an enclave for those who have been relieved of this duty. The fulfillment of this criterion for being a marxist does not come down to simply holding a party membership card--at least from that moment when it was only necessary to be in the party and it was not always necessary to be active. There is no such criterion in professor Schaff's definition and this is its basic defect. Even writing erudite contributions to professional periodicals, or to weeklies whose masthead contains the slogan "proletariats of all countries, unite!", is not the kind of social and political activeness which applies exclusively to a communist.

Likewise the unity of the developing theory on social transformations both determines and depends on the developing social practice. Both categories: theory and practice, find their concretization once on the individual level, and another time on the social level. In both cases there is a close dialectic connection between them. The nature of this connection, in any case, is no mystery. But it often goes beyond the average knowledge of the marxist primer and is inconceivable to the antidialecticians.

There is a contradiction between theory and practice at all levels of their connection, and this contradiction is based at least on the fact that the idea being implemented is practically different from that of the theoretical imagination, which is, of necessity, an abstraction and a generalization. This contradiction is solved correctly when each attempt to realize an idea supplies experiences which, when rationally processed, supplement, correct and enhance the theory. At the same time, a theory processed in this way suggests new practical ideas, and thus the process of solving the contradiction is implemented as the process



of progress. Thus far the observed disturbances of this process in our case consisted first of an attempt to codify and catechize marxism in this dogmatic version, and second, of attempts to undertake actions which would surpass theory, since this theory was also being used as an apologetic accessory, a pseudo-ideological sanction for voluntaristic activities. In both cases the disruption of the unity of theory and practice had disastrous results. In both cases marxism was reduced to an abstraction which was not congruent with social reality.

In both cases the marxist intellectuals are inclined to place the blame for this on their restricted "freedom of thought", "the activities of politicians", "the administrative methods", and "bureaucracy." But this is not the only blame. Suffice to note how eagerly and with flights of imagination they systematically created apologetic little altars out of the pseudomarxist platitudes of this "bureaucracy" and its administrative decisions. Still others, when their "free thinking" was "bureaucratically" condemned and inhibited, were (and still are) inclined to be offended and to hurl invectives about "boorishness", and when they are still consistently rejected, they look for another patron and change their red cape into a zucchetto, as did S. Bratkowski, for example.

No one will be able to convince me that in socialism the head marxists should sit in offices and produce ideology, and that the "professionals" should rule. This is one of the evident signs of the severance of theory from practice. That is why I read with horror Schaff's statement in which he says /"well-thought-of and enlightened in this field, but naive as a child in matters of philosophic policy"/ [in boldface]. Could it be that Schaff wants to call this philosopher a marxist, also? Are these "spiritually suffering marxists" truly marxists? According to me they are only frustrated opportunists. Neither L. Nowak, nor W. Bienkowski, nor S. Bratkowski, nor W. Lamentowicz, and above all, nor J. Kuron, who, too, once carried a party membership card, were ever marxists, or communists, in my opinion. Nor was L. Kolakowski, whose knowledge and erudition in the area of marxist philosophy no reasonable person would deny. As if that is not enough, I would not want to be a bad prophet, but I personally believe that this sad dissident list is not yet complete. The experimentum crucis goes on.

#### When to Make a Revolution?

Professor Schaff, while bringing to light neopositivistic errors in studying the contradictions between theory and practice, unfortunately, it seems to me, does not know how to avoid them himself. He promotes the thesis that the determination of a revolutionary situation is guaranteed in marxism by an "entire syndrome (and maybe even a system) of conditions on which the theoretical acquiescence for bringing about a socialist revolution is dependent." Schaff concludes from this that "None of the states which have thus far conducted a socialist revolution have fulfilled these marxist precautionary conditions." Either I do not understand something here or Professor Schaff has run into an elementary logical inconsistency, because what he is saying is that a socialist revolution was accomplished counter to socialist theory. In that case, was it a socialist revolution? Was the theory correct, therefore, inasmuch as the revolution was a success in spite of it? Such questions obviously occur to the reader of the article. But the answer to these questions is not the

point here. The point is that in suggesting such questions Professor Schaff falls into the very middle of the puddle that he has been intending to jump across. He states the same problem, in the same form: What failed? Theory or practice? It will not help at all to add, after the fact, any arguments that in China and in Russia circumstances existed which justified the beginning of a revolutionary surge, since these circumstances are treated precisely as a justification for violating the theoretical, presumably categorical, "precautionary conditions." Lenin did not make excuses when he wrote several times about the nature of the revolutionary situation in Russia in 1917. He did not create ad hoc arguments, but consistently implemented the marxist theory that dialectics are the algebra of the revolution, and a dialectical analysis of the specific economic, political and social situation for the marxist is the second (aside from knowledge of theory), main premise for drawing conclusions as to practical activity. Such a dialectical analysis allowed Lenin to put forth the thesis that the coincidence of Russian conditions encompasses the "consensus of the masses"--or to put it simply, the conditions for cementing a rather broad prerevolutionary class-strata alliance, a sufficiently high level of maturity of the working class, as shown by the fact that it has an avant garde class party, and furthermore, a number of phenomena stemming from the war and resolving themselves into a drastic intensification of social contradictions. Lenin regarded this coincidence of conditions sufficient to bring about a socialist revolution, since dialectics told him to see merely a theoretical test and suggestions in the marxist "precautionary conditions." He did not consider metaphysically that it was necessary to wait until the fulfillment of some kind of abstract condition high on some kind of "ranking list"--and history proved that he was right. At the same time he realized that conditions that are unfulfilled at the moment of a revolutionary upheaval will have to be caught up with under postrevolutionary conditions and that this will require another portion of theoretical work, in order to produce the marxist vision of the development of a socialist society.

Therefore, I agree with Schaff's statement that **/"where theoretical assumptions do not agree with results obtained in practice, before pronouncing that the theory is false, a study must be made of the conditions provided in it in order to determine that these conditions were respected in practice."/** [in boldface]. But I do not agree with the sense of this statement if it is to be understood only as a justification for the imperfections of socialism. I understand this statement as follows: that an "unripe" socialist revolution develops as a process which later encompasses part of the conflicts that are, as a matter of fact, of a capitalist nature. For example, only within its framework must a working class rapidly develop both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is necessary to go through a stage reminiscent of the original accumulation of capital, when the socialist state takes over a considerable part of the assets earned by the workers and pours it into investments, reducing consumption and the rapid growth in the standard of living. During this time it may also happen that this socialist state appears as a sovereign, as a kind of monopolistic usurper, particularly since it demands discipline above all, and the more difficult the conditions of world confrontation and class struggle, the more violently it compels this discipline. Theory and theoreticians who at this moment are comparing the actual state in a given society to the "ideal" prepared with the help of marxist "precautionary conditions" are not creative marxists but opportunistic apologists (when they say that there is no difference here), or diversionaries and malcontents (when they say that there is nothing to talk about

because what is happening is in conflict with Marx). I am sorry, but I think that these two attitudes among "marxists"--here in our country--were the dominant ones, and actually, the only ones.

I agree with Schaff's next statement that our present difficulties do not falsify marxist theory, but on the contrary, they confirm it. Except that I understand this statement, it appears, differently than does the author. I do not seek any excuses here. This is not an "original sin", or that failure to listen to Marx's "precautionary" advice is the source of our difficulties. Unfortunately, this is an ahistorical and antidialectical explanation of our troubles. They confirm marxism in a totally different way: they prove that ignoring unity of development of theory and practice, ignoring current class-strata contradictions and all other kinds of local or catechetic preconditions, or apologetic regard of class theses, of necessity leads to distortion and errors.

Strictly speaking, the "defense" theses which Professor Schaff presents gives our practice nothing. Except perhaps the fact that we must patiently wait until the "precautionary conditions" come about. But perhaps a little more comes from another understanding of this thesis: for example, a categorical demand for a reply to the questions as to which social conflicts, including mainly the class and strata ones, lay at the basis of all our crises, how they were noticed (or rather, hushed up), and what are the class-strata preconditions for the formation and operation in Poland of an organized anticommunist opposition and social-liberal dissidence in the party ranks? These are not all of the questions, but I believe they are some of the most important ones.

#### A Deceitful Defender

In short, I think that Professor Schaff defends marxism a little deceitfully, since he maintains that we did not very closely hold it to in its catechetic form. I say on the contrary, that we did very little to maintain the sense and the spirit of this revolutionary theory, that one time it exceeded real life in this abstractional suggestions, and another time its ideological core was ignored. In none of these cases were we able to learn from Lenin, who led his own "army" of communists when necessary by a forced march forward, and when necessary, he explained, a disciplined army must also learn to make an equally orderly retreat one step backwards. Except that he also knew how to separate political and tactical compromise from ideological compromise and surrender. And for example, in making the NEP he did not shout loudly that this is a further step on the road to communism, but an essential and obvious retreat until conditions are obtained under which it will be possible to make two steps forward. This is only an example of where and how we can and should learn creative development and application of marxism.

At the end of the article, Schaff proposes ways out, criticizing, in passing, J. Ladosz's idea, which he describes as a proposal of "administrative measures" and as the result of an "apparatchik's sickness." This is again a certain division--metaphysical, unfortunately. Could it be that the application of "administrative measures" and "ideological measures" is mutually exclusive? Are we talking about a separable alternative, or possibly about actual proportions?

I am ready to agree with the postulate that we should "show in practice that marxism is alive." But how is this to be done in practice--by ideological measures? Herein is the key, I believe, to Professor Schaff's proposition. He says that we should first of all restore freedom of thought and the collision of "different shades of marxism." Will release of the administrative brakes move the revolutionary locomotive forward, or will it allow our little railroad car to roll down from the historical "hump", in which case someone else will do the "switching" when it reaches the bottom?

My anxiety will disappear as soon as the author replies what he has in mind when he writes about the "proper limits" for open theoretical and ideological discussions. Is the author absolutely sure that a drastic elimination of absolutely all "administrative obstacles" will not lead to the fact that these discussions will simply find themselves under other pressures and a restricting influence? Will there not be attempts at manipulation and the appearance of elimination tendencies during the course of these discussions, under the cover of always this same pseudomarxist claptrap? Is it possible that after August 1980 experiments with dogmatism--maybe sometimes naive, but sincere--were met with an organized campaign against them or, which amounts to the same thing, with a cavalier and contemptuous silence? From whence does Schaff draw his optimism when he states his thesis on the "crisis of marxists" and says that "there are minds available that are thoughtful and adequately prepared scientifically?" If so, then after all, there is no "crisis of marxists." But if there is such a crisis, then what is the guarantee that those overcome by the crisis will from day to day "revive", become ideologically stronger, will improve their condition, competence and morale, in order to win this "public bid" for the ideology which the professor, in sum, proposes?

I do not ask these questions in order to defend the "administrative reductions," or the "administrative measures." Particularly since I agree with the author's proposal as to such an administrative and organizational measure as the formation of a central center for educating the young marxist cadres. But I think that this center will be the heaven for the bread and not the slack-baked dough, depending on who will be teaching in it--those "paralyzed by the crisis", or those who are "healthy." Neither am I an avid opponent of "reducing the restrictions" on theoretical and ideological discussions. For that reason and others I read Professor Schaff's article with real interest and a certain satisfaction. I believe, however, that "removing administrative measures" is, strictly speaking--what a paradox--nothing else but an administrative measure. Hopes for its effectiveness as the only help for the defense of the vitality of marxism are thus equally flimsy, as in the case of other measures of this type.

Aside from this I am convinced that Professor Schaff, precisely because he is a marxist, knows very well that neither can there be abstractional freedom where social ideas are fighting amongst themselves. In any case, this freedom certainly cannot be decreed.



TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY'S VEILED POLITICS ASSAILED

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 35, 28 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by Mirosław Karwat and Włodzimierz Milanowski]

[Text] TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is a special phenomenon of our sociopolitical and intellectual life, as well as a carrier and a mouthpiece of a certain political mentality, a system of ideological values and an example of its own indoctrination methods for its readers. Therefore, it is worthwhile to become acquainted with particular elements characterizing the editorial staff's means of operation and dissemination of news, values and goals.

TYGODNIK carries the subtitle: Catholic Socio-Cultural Paper. However, TYGODNIK's "Catholicism" is specific and differs from other papers in the Catholic world. In their case, Catholicism is self-defined, allowing for conscious choice and ideological and moral claims as interpreted by the teachings of the church. "Catholicism" as presented by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is a "first hand" feature, first and last based upon its own subjective interpretation. Tied to this is pretension--granting to itself the exclusive right to complete embodiment of Polish Catholicism in general. Last of all, this is a peculiar "Catholicism" because the formation of intellectual Catholicism is here only a base for political Catholicism, in which Catholic axiology is instrumentalized and subordinated to the practical demands of a political orientation. The ideology propagated in TYGODNIK's more or less refined publications is hidden under an external vestment of a sociomoral religious mission. This is, however, apparent religiosity, not having any value in and of itself, except as a political variant under the guise of "apoliticism." In essence, the paper represents religiosity: transforming religion into a tool of arbitrary policy based upon a position of ideological sectarianism, uniformity and righteousness, in tolerance and justifiable *mitem sacrum*.

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY suggests to the reader a profile different from that which it really represents. Of course, the majority of readers are aware of its real profile and accept it. On the other hand, the remaining readers accept it on the basis of the camouflage, which rests upon the fact that the paper professes to be "apolitical." In essence, the paper does not state clear, open political declarations, and it does not even declare political interests.

It concerns itself with religion and culture. If there are any political observations, they are presented as "dry" and "objective" information about the most important events. This is the first aspect of camouflage. Selection and also linguistic formulation of political facts are an intentional action that depends upon selection according to preconceived assumptions. Such information in reality serves some purpose. It clarifies the "background" of other issues that are written about more broadly and subjectively.<sup>1</sup> It directs attention and awakens certain interests and even emotions. On the other hand, it "relieves" journalistic texts of the obligation to include viewpoints and suggestions based on facts. It thus justifies subjectivity and evaluations. Finally, it guarantees an "alibi" for formally nonpolitical texts. As a result, the publisher of TYGODNIK--avoiding clearly political language and observances--can be judged in the light of official criteria as "apolitical." This makes possible the "apolitical" cultivation of politics, as if it were not politics, without having to bear the moral and political consequences of engaging in politics, without political responsibility.

A third aspect of the camouflage depends on that which it apparently is denying. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY's political involvement is--I can say--integral. There is not any one way to reduce the other sides of its involvement to one, which is exclusively political or exclusively a pretext or tool. Political involvement is the result of philosophical conditions of life: on the whole, politics and its interpretation are derived from degrees and values of ideology, morals, esthetics, etc., as interpreted by Catholicism. This is the camouflage: the suggestion of a Catholic identity, the suggestion that there is a "real Catholicism" and a "real Polishness." This is all suggested to be the political identity of the Catholic Church and the affairs of Catholic society in Poland. But this paper represents only one point of view within Polish Catholicism.

To sum up, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is a political paper that presents within a "neutral" and "apolitical" context (within the framework of sociocultural and religious policy) its own particular, internally consistent system of ideological values, and that expresses summary opinions and political directives. It is the mouthpiece for intellectual Catholicism, that Catholicism which interprets things in political categories. These politics have an oppositional character, although the paper respects the law governing publications.

#### Social Reality in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY

Reality in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is specific; it proposes its own means by which to recognize reality, defines it and then imposes its peculiar cognitive sphere. The paper has an opinion on every event and wishes to shape the readers' opinion accordingly.

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY's totalitarianism relies on the fact that it has the answer to everything and that this answer is definitive. It has become an exhaustive source of explanations.<sup>2</sup> The readers of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (and the authors) do not have any doubts--except for those which are directed "outward" toward

1. "Processes," TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 23, 6 June 1982.

2. J. Hennelowa, "The Absent," TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 24, 13 June 1982.

that reality which does not conform to the paper's image. This reality must be doubted, both as to its existence and, if it does exist, to its correctness. So that explanations can be global, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY designates a range of questions to which it supplies the responses. Other questions (including philosophical dilemmas and the philosophy of life) do not appear, but in case they do appear they are underrated for reason of lack of faith. The totalitarianism of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY also depends on cognitive absolutism: every issue is presented as "one or the other." There is only one truth and that truth has only one side; there is only one true source; there can be only one spokesman; there is only one interpretation; only one side can be right in a dispute (of course, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY). The choice for the reader is mechanical; either you acknowledge our unlimited and absolute truth or you are not one of "ours." The same applies to opinions on events and social subjects. Everything is true or false; good or bad; inevitable or accidental. In order to make one's way through this maze of metaphysics, one must believe the authors of this paper.

The relationship of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY to reality (the one that existed before it was "shaped" by the paper) is stipulated or desired or claimed. The paper first defines reality; afterward, one is criticized for disobedience or taught. The integral component in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is moralization, which calls for reality through subordination to wishes and creation of a desired ideal. As a result, there are three realities in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY: 1) ideal and transcendental, perfect, parodied by the second one; 2) existing reality; 3) presented reality. The last one is an attempt to adjust the second one (existing reality) to the first one (ideal and desired). When this fails, the last resort is conflict and inconsistency with actual reality, calling for a visionary view. Introduction of real reality must be selective (introduce only that which must be praised or fought) and intentional (opinion is given as description).

Real reality--as seen and selected in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY--has a strange character. It exists only if one can see it, introduce it, interpret it, evaluate it, name it, invent it or expose it. It is not a reality subject to consideration; on the contrary, consideration is used to direct the readers to follow the reality. This phenomenon is neither chance nor misunderstanding. The authors of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY maintain the view that they are by nature smarter, more subtle and more refined than the reality they present. Reality (the real one) can be illogical, irrational, trivial or even primitive. But, thank heavens, those who interpret it are clever and can compensate for the poor reality.

Because real reality (present, worldly, irresponsible in its incompatibility with that which is autentic and accepted a priori) is only an object for criticism or a pretext for introducing real values with a reality having nothing in common with anything, this method of introducing something must be exceptional. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY--in its opinion--is free of the "coarseness" characteristic of Catholic papers, presenting events and adopting them to its reality. It relates real reality (with respect to its ideal) in a mediating manner. This depends above all on the fact that neither the subject nor the object nor the relationship between the subject and the object is expressed or in general named; on the contrary, it always possesses its symbolic mediation. Moreover,

real phenomena are spoken about in an agreed upon manner, as if they were ordered to exist in a given instance. This symbolic and conventional manner of writing about the world finds expression above all in metaphors, puns, puzzles in the text and stylizing the texts with Biblical allegories, so as to build the texts to cover the theme and create the impression of avoiding not only the theme but also the issue.

This has at least three causes: 1) the ideal-metaphysical orientation, 2) the attempt to manifest--externally--religiosity in the paper and 3) the defined political context. This context is extremely readable: TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, regarding itself as the last promoter of freedom under conditions of "nonfreedom of speech," must smuggle its world-shaking ideas in a form that is veiled, cunning and of double meaning.

And what reality do readers of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY see?

They see above all a world that is unassuming and mysterious, cruel and oppressive. It is a world full of secrets, of which the most important is that life gives one new experiences. Reality (especially social) is not governed by any researched regularities, but rather by blind fate that is secret, strong and grouped in certain worldly, atheistic institutions. These fates distort the world into a valley of suffering, torment and a theater of the absurd. They disinherit the Pole from his homeland, which has an earthly dimension (Poland in the historical sense) and a supernatural and divine dimension. Social agnosticism, fatalism and catastrophism come thus from Satanism and fear of divine judgment--the people will return and God will have mercy and forgive. Everything that happens has an expressed moral sense: it results from objective contradictions of interests and aspirations, from social conflicts, from Good and Evil and from honest or dishonest will. The world as an arena of battle is divided into sides of conflict, not on social strengths, but on good and bad people, on those who think rightly and those who err, and through error and sin persist in their pride and resistance.<sup>3</sup>

Because there is no escape from eternal evil (which the carrier should not mention so as not to evoke it!), because nothing can be corrected in this incorrect reality (read: in this cursed nature and unreformed system, there is only one way out: to seek salvation in religion and miracles). However, if one accepts this religiosity advanced by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, then one can see that it differs from that recommended by the Catholic community and the Church as a whole: to return to God requires rejection of this negative reality. God and religion are here a tool and pretext, not the primary motive. The recipe for life proposed by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY is active internal emigration, programmed conflict in religious clothes.

Social reality in the Polish People's Republic--as generalized in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY--is defined by three conflicts that are not easily resolved.

The first conflict is the organizational one between society and the state ("authorities"). Society is "ours" and the state is "theirs," foreign;

3. See S. Bratkowski, "Sketches of the 1,000-Year Rule of Christ," TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 1, 2 January 1983.



society is Polish and Catholic and the state is imported and atheistic; society is in and of ourselves (like mankind) and the state is eternal (anti-social and against human nature, causing mankind eternal harm)--somewhere on the sidelines, but thanks to its strength, it has greater force. However, it cannot break down the proud society-nation into its own image. It presents itself as the "State of God," especially in its human essence: it has to be its own form of self-organization with one leader. Its spokesman is TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

The second conflict is precisely the conflict between the dark forces of the official state that is foreign and the bright strengths of the "State of God," led by the Church (and presented by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY).

The third conflict is the insurmountable and undefeatable hiatus between the glorious past tradition of the nation (whose chronicler, commentator and apologist, having a total monopoly on all that is correct, is TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY) and the present, which is equated with the degradation of the past and the identity of the nation. As long as this present cannot be changed, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY proposes life in the past (we repeat--a presented and idealized past).

In order that such a world view can be accepted as correct Catholicism and correct patriotism, and even as the personification of progress, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY worries about the horizons of its readers. It takes care to insure that they do not become distracted and that they continue to concentrate their attention on the most important issues and be restricted to suitable sources of knowledge and thought. This is achieved in two ways: through devotional portrayal of some political events and through sensational packaging of controversial matters (especially biographies). Narrowmindedness is to be the virtue and purity of the reader, in a two-sided meaning: as provincialism, shaped by a topical scope and information and publications permeated with national-religious content, and as parochialism, which is the skill to view reality only through the prism of that which "they say in Church," and write in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

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## GENERAL RESEARCH ON SOCIAL PATHOLOGY NOTED

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 7 Sep 83 p 5

[Article by Antoni Rajkiewicz: "Research on Social Pathology; There Are No Thieves, Only People Steal"]

[Text] For more than 20 years now, research has been conducted on phenomena of human pathology under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences. They were initiated by studies on the subject of economic delinquency conducted within the framework of the work of the Committee for Research on Social Problems of People's Poland.

Prof Michal Kalecki was chairman of the Committee for Research on Social Problems of People's Poland. And it was he who also formulated the opinion that "the commission of corrupt practices in an organized and repeated fashion, with the cooperation of supervisory personnel from national enterprises, places this phenomenon in the ranks of the all-important problem of the emergence of a 'delinquent bourgeoisie' that certainly plays no small role in the purchase of automobiles or the construction of villas." Prof M. Kalecki wrote this in 1962. In his "An Attempt to Explain Phenomena of Economic Delinquency," he acknowledged that the struggle with this delinquency is becoming an essential factor in the implementation of socialism and the situation in which "there are no thieves, only people steal," and that the creation of delinquent groups or "initiated groups" requires a system of comprehensive control. He detected in this a favorable trend for change in social attitudes towards the "delinquent bourgeoisie."

Unfortunately, Prof M. Kalecki's prognoses did not prove to be correct. Nor was his hypothesis that "the roots of economic delinquency appearing in socialist guise (not only here) are embedded in this phase of development, when the main if not the exclusive stress is placed on rapid increase in production." Already in the course of considerably broader research conducted in industrial regions, it has been ascertained that there exists a sort of broad reproduction of pathological phenomena. It was not only associated with the wave of enrichment at any cost, but mainly with the spread of the plague of drunkenness, minor theft and the destruction of public property. The aforementioned research took place under the auspices of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN]

Industrialized Areas Research Committee, under the direction of Prof Stefan Ignar, in the 1970's. It focused attention on the need for comprehensive satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of society, and on the importance of the development of education and culture, as well as the strengthening of social ties with the aid of institutions of democratic self-regulation. As a matter of fact, the 1972 report on the status of education referred to the preventive role of training of young people in their educational process.

All research reports together with recommendations concerning practical applications were delivered to the authorities, unfortunately, without major results. As a result, at the turn of the decade of the 1960's, the growth of some manifestations of social pathology were observed, especially drunkenness. Consumption of alcohol (calculating on the basis of 100 percent alcohol) per person increased from 4.1 liters in 1965 to 6 liters in 1972, and to 8.2 liters in 1977; in other words during the course of 12 years it doubled. At the same time, the use of high-proof spirit vodka rose from 63 percent to 71 percent. Alcoholism is a pathogenic phenomenon, which means that it is (as a general rule) the cause of various types of crimes, transgressions, etc., attributed to social pathology.

Observations of the growth in pathological phenomena caused increasing concern in scientific circles, because these phenomena were accompanied by the threat of social disturbances, disease, and were aimed at the concepts of domestic socioeconomic development. That is also why during the early 1970's in the PAN Research and Prognosis Committee "Poland 2000," a group was created for the preparation of diagnosis and expert appraisal concerning social pathology. Following various types of disturbances, they were published in 1975 in a book with a circulation of 300 (three hundred!) copies entitled "Aspects Dealing with the Problem of Social Pathology in Poland." In it were presented characteristics of the situations, aspects of the prognosis and directions of prospective activity up to 1990 relative to delinquency, mental disturbances, alcoholism, drug addiction, suicide, mental handicaps and prostitution. The authors, J.K. Falewicz, J. Jasinski, A. Kozniewski, in conclusion wrote that in view of the fact of growing manifestations of social pathology, it is first of all imperative to strive to retard the pace of their further expansion, and then gradually to limit their volume and obliterate them, which requires comprehensive and extensive efforts on the part of social policy. Moreover, they attached special significance to the manner in which public institutions function, because some of them, instead of curbing deviations, exerted influence on their growth. "It is necessary to believe," they wrote, "that the development of cultural life, as well as the cultural infrastructure, will have influence on weakening social attitudes and conduct, as well as on the formation of a new life style for Polish society."

This expert appraisal reached the leading officials, but only two ministries (National Defense and Internal Affairs) at that time displayed any interest in it and encouraged further study.

In 1977 the "Poland 2000" committee commenced work on the next expert appraisal, in which the habitual smoking of tobacco was likewise added to the list of pathological phenomena. Much more attention was devoted to increasingly evident weaknesses in public life, declining culture of community life and corrupt

practices of the machinery of government. Attention began to focus on the increasing devastation of the environment and the threat to human health, and likewise on the expansion of drug addiction centers. This expert appraisal was already completed in 1978 and the authorities were informed of its results. The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences reviewed a condensed version in November 1980 and recommended its publication, as well as continued research. Furthermore, special attention was called to incidents of demoralization of young people. At that time the public prosecutor's office estimated the number of children and young people under 18 years of age in so-called problem families at 1 million. The Ministry of Justice has assumed supervision of about 184,000 young people (due to demoralization), and the Ministry of Education and Upbringing approximately 115,000 students, who are the source of constant educational problems (of whom 33,000 have already brushed with the penal code). The Friends of Children Association estimated that in 100,000 incompetent families, there are 250,000 children in need of help and outside care. The rate of incidents expressed in the figures cited led the Council on Family Matters to assume responsibility for them, and undertake measures to prepare a statute dealing with issues concerning minors (it was passed on 26 October 1982).

Two publications issued by the Main Statistical Office [GUS] contributed to our knowledge of the extent and structure of the phenomena of social pathology: "Selected Problems of Social Pathology" and "Selected Problems of Family Pathology"; also contributing were studies from the Institute for Delinquency Problems (including "An Atlas of Delinquency" reflecting territorial variations in delinquency in Poland) and a report by the Warsaw University Institute of Prophylaxis and Resocialization on policy problems in the sphere of alcoholism, published in 1981 by the Psychoneurological Institute in Warsaw, etc.

It can be stated, therefore, that knowledge concerning problems of social pathology is considerable, that in Poland we possess a rather large group of specialists, and recently several statutes were enacted that intervene in this sphere of phenomena (the statute of 26 October 1982 on sobriety training and counteracting alcoholism, treatment of absenteeism from work, as well as the treatment of matters involving minors). Army General W. Jaruzelski has frequently spoken on the necessity for intensifying the struggle with these phenomena. Unfortunately, these phenomena appear to be universal in all spheres of our life, and in all social groups, and although some of them are not more preponderant than those appearing in other countries, nevertheless the general front is extremely broad, and many of them are growing, likewise comprising several behaviors or pathological situations as a rule accompanied by alcoholism. The tolerant attitude of numerous social groups towards this habit, and mass participation in the devastation of the natural environment, must give rise to increasing concern.

Research analysts fear that the lack of social restraints can also lead to a serious spread of certain phenomena and thereby hinder the process of overcoming our serious crisis. These research analysts have not ceased, however, to search for ways and means for more effective and comprehensive action: among other things, they are currently gathering current data on sources and structures holding steadfast against social threats.



In the approaching weeks the Social Opinion Research Center will conduct studies in labor centers on the state of awareness by enterprises for coping with the phenomena of social pathology, on attitudes adopted towards them, and on the degree of preparedness to participate in resisting them. The PAN "Poland 2000" committee is completing its collection of opinions and proposals of scholars and social activists, and also is submitting analyses, statistical information and comparative data.

This is all linked to preparations for this year's November scientific conference (with the participation of state officials) on the subject of the social problems mentioned above, and ways and means to overcome them. Research analysts are guided here by the view, expressed almost 100 years ago by Ludwik Krzywicki, that "the greater the awareness of evil, the sooner can all shortcomings prevailing in human affairs today be corrected" (PRZEDSWIT, No 3, 1885).

Unfortunately we are not short on evil, but fortunately there also is no shortage of people who are still determined to combat it, in a comprehensive, consistent and competent manner. But without these three "C's" it would be difficult to depend on the success of the three "S's" associated with economic reform.

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